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Medieval and Renaissance Series
Number 2

MEDIEVAL

AND

RENAISSANCE STUDIES

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In memoriam

Professor Glen Haydon
1896-1966

Foreword

The studies here published present to a wider audience eight of the nine public lectures given by the Senior Fellows of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies during its Second Session, held at Duke University in July-August of 1966. The ninth lecture—that given by Professor R. W. Southern—will also be published, elsewhere, in an expanded and enriched form. We regret not being able to print it along with its companion pieces in this series but rejoice to know that Professor Southern does not intend to let it perish.

It is by accident rather than by design that the lectures of the Second Session lean preponderantly towards the Renaissance and reach, in two instances, even into the period of the Baroque. The presence of Professor Southern's lecture would have helped to rectify this unintentional imbalance of chronological coverage. It would also have served to illustrate, once again, the continuity of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In their rich variety of subject matter and in their European geographical range, however, the studies offer something of interest to all who are seriously concerned with the backgrounds of Western culture. History, literature, technical bibliography, music, art, and religion are all represented and, happily, interwoven. Diverse as they are in topic and approach, the lectures nevertheless produce, in final effect, a remarkable impression of unity.

Editorial tampering and regularizing has been kept at a minimum—probably under the influence of Professor Brown's finger-wagging admonitions. The lecture form of the originals, except for a few sporadic changes subsequently introduced by

the authors themselves, has been preserved. Some of the manuscripts were accompanied by documenting notes; others were not. None were requested. And I trust that I shall not be excluded from the heaven of Academics for not having scrupulously observed the sacred canons of the *MLA Style Sheet.* Where notes were readily intelligible and adequate, I have not forced upon them an artificial consistency of form. A captious reader, if he bothers about such trifles, may observe that whereas the Institute uses in its title the form *medieval* several of the lecturers have preferred *mediaeval.* I have not thought it becoming to quarrel with my more learned colleagues. To a reader of good will the discrepancy, and others like it, should occasion neither heartburn nor hemorrhage—*haemorrhage,* if he prefers.

Finally, it is my melancholy task to record here the untimely death, in May of 1966, of our esteemed colleague and fellow Committee member, Professor Glen Haydon, who did not live to hear the lectures which he had been so largely instrumental in planning. His wise counsel and gentle presence will be sorely missed. It is to his memory that these studies are gratefully, and sadly, dedicated.

John L. Lievsay
Chairman, 1966 Institute
Durham, N. C.

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MEDIEVAL

AND

RENAISSANCE STUDIES

I

The Transmission of the Text

Arthur Brown
University College London

About five years ago, in a flush of youthful enthusiasm, I prepared a series of lectures, eight in all, under this same grandiose title for delivery to my students, both undergraduate and postgraduate. In them I tried to introduce the students to some of the hard facts of life in so far as these had bearing upon their reading. I tried to make them realize, for example, that the scribes of medieval manuscripts were not necessarily infallible. I tried to show them, with a wealth of illustration, that compositors in Elizabethan printing shops were not miraculously exempt from all the normal human errors of omission and commission. With a good deal of malicious glee I damned all editors of Shakespeare from the seventeenth century onwards, pointing out that, as a result of their bungling, students could not take it for granted that when they studied one of his plays in the most recent paperback edition they were necessarily reading every word as he had intended it, and that this consideration applied also to the rest of the extant corpus of Elizabethan drama. For good measure I added that even the texts of many of their modern heroes, the Yeatses and Eliots of this world, for example, had been corrupted in transmission in a variety of ways, and that many of the critics whom they revered almost as the Deity had been guilty of basing their utterances on printers' errors.[1] Having thus liberally scattered the seeds of alarm and despondency, I proceeded to administer that best of all weed-killers, the scientific, cool, detached bibliographical approach, which would, in course of time, clean up the literary garden and leave us free to admire Shakespearian and other blooms in all their pristine beauty.

Most of the students were, I think, impressed; after all, the notions I had propounded were quite new to the majority of them. Some were even edified. A few—and I like to think that these were the most intelligent ones—thought highly of what I had said, and suggested that a small book on the subject might help their successors from groping in the darkness as they had done. No teacher can resist that kind of flattery. My foul papers were quickly transformed into fair copy, and fair copy rather more slowly into printers' copy. But the intervening five years have been a period of almost unmitigated gloom. Beaten, bewildered, and brainwashed by Fredson Bowers, scared almost into submission by the subtleties of Alice Walker, frozen into an attitude of perpetual adoration before the two-volume monument erected over the First Folio by Charlton Hinman, and, more recently, finding myself classed with other textual bibliographers as "vile mechanics" by James Thorpe,[2] I have seen chapter after chapter of my little book revert with astonishing speed to the foul-paper stage before being consigned to the wastepaper basket. So far had the process of demoralization gone, that when you did me the honour of inviting me to this Institute, and asked me for the title of my paper, I was strongly tempted to reply that I would call it "The Text—Does It Exist?"

All is not lost, of course. But one of the first things I would emphasize is that as far as the transmission of the text is concerned—and I have in mind particularly medieval and Renaissance texts—we are still far from being able to see our way clear ahead. There is still a lot of hard thinking to be done, and indeed a lot of hard re-thinking over some of the things that we are in danger of taking for granted. Fredson Bowers recently remarked that it may be that "bibliographical second thoughts have produced some heaviness of spirit following on the initial glow of editorial optimism," and went on to say that although "current bibliographical research is moving ahead with astonishing speed . . . its general effects tend more to show the specialist what he does not yet know than to open up new territory for exploitation by the general scholar. Each

fresh bibliographical breakthrough," he added, "only discovers more areas for technical investigation before criticism can begin to make use of the newer findings; and thus the day for practical application of bibliographical hypotheses on any large scale is continually being put off."[3]

You will not expect me in the time at my disposal to present you with any breathtakingly fresh bibliographical breakthrough. I intend rather to examine a few of the hypotheses upon which bibliographical research has been proceeding, in the hope of persuading you that they are not perhaps as foolproof as some scholars would like us to believe, and that we must be very cautious indeed about applying them indiscriminately simply because they appear to hold good in a few cases. I confine myself to examples from English Renaissance drama for the most part, though I cannot resist a passing reference to the York Mystery Plays, the manuscript of which is in the British Museum, and the only full edition of which was produced by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith in 1885; for here we have a clear case of textual transmission involving deterioration which is still going on. It is clear that Miss Smith had some difficulty at times in reading the fifteenth-century hand of the manuscript, and, too often for comfort, she misreads a word completely. The misreading is then put into her glossary, but, since the word does not in fact exist, she has to invent a meaning for it which will fit the context. This is bad enough, but in a number of cases the nonexistent word and its invented meaning have been taken over by the compilers of the great *New English Dictionary,* and thus achieve a pseudo-scholarly recognition and immortality in its pages. Still worse, in a few cases the compilers of the new *Middle English Dictionary,* now in progress, have culled these words and meanings, both spurious, from the older dictionary, and have given them a new lease of life which is likely to continue for generations. The moral is clear and simple: in matters of textual transmission nothing can be taken for granted, no matter how formidable the authority behind it may be. We remember, too, that it took the discovery of a new manuscript of Malory's *Le Morte*

d'Arthur to reveal the extent to which William Caxton had impressed his own ideas on the transmission of this text, and to show just how wrong generations of critics had been, including men of the calibre of George Saintsbury, when they praised Malory for his genius in imposing a unity on this vast assemblage of stories; the Winchester manuscript demonstrated that he neither did nor intended to do any such thing, and the business of critical assessment had to begin all over again.[4]

A similar discovery of a Shakespeare manuscript would no doubt revolutionize all our thinking about his plays, but there seems to be little enough justification to hope for such a thing. There is still less justification, I suggest, for the apparent confidence with which some textual critics discuss the characteristics of Shakespeare's manuscripts, or those of other Elizabethan dramatists, as if they were actually on the table in front of their eyes. There is here a potentially dangerous situation, and we do well to remind ourselves over and over again how pitifully small is the extant evidence of what these manuscripts looked like. We have few or none which bear signs of having passed through the printers' hands, none which we can compare with the printed version to see just how the compositors dealt with it. While research has enabled us to make some pretty firm conjectures on these matters, conjectures they must remain. As an example of the danger I have in mind, I refer you to an article which appeared some six years ago, in which the writer attempted to settle the dispute over the authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy* in favour of Middleton by a close bibliographical analysis of the quarto of 1607.[5] It seems unfortunate that in an investigation of this kind he should tell us that he started off with "a prior conviction of Middleton's authorship," and that throughout the article he should refer unashamedly to "Middleton's manuscript" as the printer's copy for this quarto. So strong is his prior conviction that he can talk easily of the compositor's "substituting *'em* for the form *e'm,* which he found in the manuscript," just as if it were in front of him for comparison. He can suggest in one place that the compositors may have changed the form of the act headings

in the printed quarto, since they are not, to him, characteristic of Middleton; yet in another place he can praise the compositors for their fidelity to copy in matters of punctuation, since this to him *is* characteristic of Middleton. Two points may be made here: first, that scholarship concerned with the transmission of the text is not divinely absolved from proceeding solely on the basis of the evidence in front of it, and is not allowed, any more than any other branch of scholarship, to assume as proved what it is setting out to prove; second, that the scholar, like nature, abhors a vacuum—if, in order to sustain an argument, he needs, in the chain of a text's history, a manuscript or a printed copy of it which no longer exists (and which may never have existed for all he knows), he begins with a cautious and scholarly hypothesis that it *did* exist, works himself up to a pitch of excitement at having been clever enough to find it, and ends by seeing it in front of him, quoting liberally from it as he turns over the pages. There is more than one English scholar alive who is lovingly caressing Shakespeare's first, second, or third draft of a play every time he puts pen to paper, a harmless enough hallucination in some ways, perhaps, but not one that brings much credit to textual studies. So that when we are told that "the immediate concern of textual bibliography is only to recover as exactly as may be the form of the text directly underneath the printed copy," and that "when only one edition was printed, this recovery concerns the form of the manuscript from which the printer set,"[6] we may applaud the sentiment, but we may not allow our enthusiasm to blind us to the cold truth that such a "recovery" can rarely, if ever, attain the solidity of a fact.

Manuscripts of one kind or another were handled by the compositors, whose task it was to set the type for the printed book. At present a great deal of bibliographical research is being directed to "compositor analysis," to the identification of individual compositors, to the isolation of the individual's idiosyncrasies in setting type, his attitude towards and his treatment of his copy, his spelling habits, and so forth. Much of this research has had valuable results, as, for example, in

Charlton Hinman's examination of the Shakespeare First Folio.[7] Again I wonder, however, whether we are not in too great a hurry to jump to conclusions about these men. The question has considerable bearing on another which has been exercising the editorial section of the scholarly world for quite a long time: are we, in our modern editions, to preserve the old spelling of the originals, or are we to modernize it? It has been alleged, and with some force, that in a period at which there were no generally accepted rules of spelling, and when spelling was, in fact, very much a matter of individual preference and habit, that we are likely to have, in our original quartos and folios, just as much of the compositor's spelling as the author's, and that we should not delude ourselves into believing that by reproducing this old spelling we are necessarily preserving Shakespeare's or Jonson's or any other author's. Charles Sisson felt this way when he wrote the introduction to his *New Readings in Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1956); Alice Walker has remarked, somewhat darkly, that "in accidentals, as in substantive readings, we need to be chary of supposing that compositors reproduced copy with the conservatism that has sometimes been assumed";[8] and I have it on private but reliable authority that Charlton Hinman is moving towards the belief that so much of the spelling in the original texts is compositorial that modernization of spelling in present-day editions is the only sensible method to adopt. Appeal has been made to a statement by Joseph Moxon in his *Mechanick Exercises,* the earliest full and consistent treatment of printing practices that we have: "By the Laws of Printing," he says, "a Compositor is strictly to follow his Copy, viz. to observe and do just so much and no more than his Copy will bear him out for; so that his Copy is to be his Rule and Authority: But the carelessness of some good Authors, and the ignorance of other Authors, has forc'd Printers to introduce a Custom, which among them is look'd upon as a task and duty incumbent on the Compositor, viz. to discover and amend the bad Spelling and Pointing of his Copy, if it be English. . . ."[9] We must be careful, however, how we interpret Moxon here.

Note that he begins with the firm statement that "a Compositor is strictly to follow his Copy . . . so that his Copy is to be his Rule and Authority." It seems to me that what follows—permission for a compositor to "discover and amend the bad Spelling and Pointing of his Copy"—bears all the signs of a later concession arising from the growing standardization of spelling; and we must remember that Moxon was writing in 1683, when the situation in this respect differed considerably from that of the 1590's or early 1600's.

For the other side of the picture I refer you to the dramatist Thomas Heywood. We are fortunate in having in the British Museum two play manuscripts, *The Captives* and *Calisto or The Escapes of Jupiter,* both undoubtedly written in his own abominable hand, a hand so bad as to be incomprehensible to anyone who does not have the time to puzzle it out letter by letter. Neither play, so far as we know, was printed in his own lifetime, but many of his others were. It is possible, therefore, to make some comparisons between the hand of the manuscript and the forms which appear in the printed quartos, and to reach the conclusion that when the compositors had to work from a Heywood autograph, as they often did, they followed it very strictly indeed; so strictly, in fact, that one can trace a great proportion of their errors to the characteristic letter forms of Heywood's hand. I mention only a few of many clear examples. In his *Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World* (1640), Heywood writes a preface "Excusing the Compositor, who received this Coppy in a difficult and unacquainted hand, and the Corrector who could not bee alwayes ready in regard of some necessary Imployments, I intreate the generous Reader to take notice of these Errata following, and to rectifie them in his reading after this manner. . . ." A long errata list follows; in it we find the spelling *possion* for *possession,* and when we turn to the manuscript of *The Captives* we find the word *possession* written in a way that can only be read as *posseion.* Heywood's *o, a, u,* and *n* all tend to look exactly alike, and error after error in his printed works show that the compositor had

just as much trouble with them as we do. But he made little or no attempt to "discover and amend the bad Spelling"; rather he ploughed doggedly ahead, and set almost slavishly what his copy would bear him out for. In the manuscripts we find that Heywood soon tires of writing out in full *Actus Primus* or *Actus Secundus,* and adopts a rather careless and slovenly abbreviation of the number, e.g. Act 5*o*. We are not surprised, therefore, to find in the quarto of *The Wise Woman of Hogsden* the printed form *Actus 56,* which even a non-theatre-going compositor might have been expected to boggle at. We find faithfully reproduced in the quarto of *Fortune by Land and Sea* the rather odd name *Mr. Chantes,* but in the manuscript of *The Captives* we discover that this is precisely how Heywood wrote the word *merchants,* right down to the capital *C* after the abbreviation for *mer.* For the exclamation *ay* or *aye,* which compositors at this time regularly reproduced as *I,* Heywood had his own unique spelling *ey* in his manuscripts; and this too appears regularly in his printed quartos.

Now it may be fairly alleged, especially in view of my last example where the compositors abandoned their normal procedure, that Heywood is a special case. His hand was notoriously bad, his printers had to take it slowly, and were therefore inclined to follow their copy more faithfully than they would have done with an easier hand. Certainly most of his plays show signs too of quite thorough press-correction; the six extant copies of the first quarto of *The Rape of Lucrece,* for example, reveal no fewer than eighty press variants in the first sheet, a veritable headache for Heywood's editor. I will grant that his case may be an unusual one; but I would insist, nevertheless, that we have no right to assume that other dramatists were not treated in the same or in a very similar way, especially when we have no manuscripts by which we can judge the relative clarity or difficulty of their hands. To me, at any rate, the evidence is still far from strong enough to justify the notion that the overlay of compositorial spellings forces us to abandon old-spelling texts in favour of modernization. This is precisely one of those areas of which Bowers

speaks, in which more technical investigation is needed before criticism can begin to make use of the newer findings.

At this point I wish to move to a much broader consideration, to one in which my own ideas are still far from definite, but one which I feel we shall certainly have to take increasingly into account. You will remember that H. J. Chaytor, in his important little book *From Script to Print* (1945), emphasizing the turning-point in the history of civilization that was marked by the invention and development of printing, went on to say:

> Not so readily appreciated is the fact that association with printed matter has changed our views of literary art and style, has introduced ideas concerning originality and literary property of which the age of manuscript knew little or nothing, and has modified the psychological processes by which we use words for the communication of thought. The breadth of the gulf which separates the age of manuscript from the age of print is not always, nor fully, realized, by those who begin to read and criticize medieval literature.[10]

I have a suspicion that there may be another gulf somewhere around the end of the seventeenth century, marking the point at which printing had, as it were, grown up and become sophisticated, and at which the attitudes of authors, printers, publishers, and even readers, towards literature were undergoing a subtle change. We see something of this, I suggest, in the passage which I have already quoted from Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises,* which, on the basis of by now accepted spelling forms, gives a compositor responsibility for correcting his copy much more freely than he had done in the past. We see something of it in the emergence of the publisher as an independent force in the transmission of texts, exercising more and more choice in what shall or shall not be printed. We see something of it in the generally greater interest taken by authors in the printing of their works, in more careful and consistent proof-reading by printers and authors alike. And we see something of it in the growth of collectors, exercising

a conscious and deliberate choice between what shall or shall not be preserved in their libraries. All these factors, and many other smaller ones, taken together seem to me to mark another turning-point, one no doubt more difficult to describe or even to visualize clearly than the invention of printing, but the implications of which are of the utmost importance to the textual critic—and indeed to all literary scholars.

My reason for raising the matter is this. In recent years much valuable work has been done on the texts of authors from the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, and, to quote from a recent important and interesting article by James Thorpe,[11] these investigations "have revealed that authorial revision is embodied in multiple printed versions to an extent which seems almost limitless." Thorpe gives scores of examples: Wordsworth's revision of *The Prelude,* Dickens's alternative endings for *Great Expectations,* Hardy's four different versions of *The Return of the Native* between 1878 and 1912, Auden's revisions in his *Collected Poetry* of 1945, to mention only a few. In a sensible attempt to resolve some of the dilemmas thus presented to editors and scholars, Thorpe proposes at the end of his article three main principles: first, that "the textual critic is . . . limited to the linguistic intentions of the author," and that "the basic goal of textual criticism is . . . the verification or recovery of the words which the author intended to constitute the literary work"; second, since the work of art "is always tending towards a collaborative status" (through the intervention of publisher, or editor, or producer in the theatre), "the task of the textual critic is always to recover and preserve its integrity at that point where the authorial intentions seem to have been fulfilled"; third, that "when the author provides us with multiple actual versions of what we commonly think of as a single literary work, he has in fact written separate works, among which there is no simple way to choose the best."

These principles are, to be sure, irreproachable, though their application to individual cases will, as Thorpe points out, be far from simple. They do in fact, he says, make the textual

critic's work more difficult: "Whenever we deal with human motives and the operation of human intentions, we soon reach the point—if we do not have the advantage of being the omniscient author—beyond which the best we can suggest is probability, then possibility, then uncertainty." What worries me even more is the danger that critics will too easily transfer in their own minds the circumstances surrounding the great majority of authors and works cited by Thorpe, drawn largely from the eighteenth century onwards, to the earlier period in which we are interested, where the situation is very different indeed. I have suggested that after the seventeenth century the whole atmosphere surrounding the relationships between author, printer, publisher, and reader changes fundamentally, and it will not do to apply conclusions drawn from these later centuries to the earlier ones. To put it more concretely, the circumstances resulting in the four versions of a novel by Hardy or in the alternative endings of Dickens's *Great Expectations* are nothing like those which produced the first quarto and folio versions of *Hamlet*. I do not, of course, accuse Thorpe of suggesting that they are; but I seem to detect in his article, and in recent studies by other writers of the so-called "bad quartos" of Elizabethan plays, hints that might lead, or mislead, less experienced readers into drawing unacceptable parallels. Often enough in the more sophisticated literary scene of later centuries we can study the whole process of composition in considerable detail; manuscripts and later drafts and revisions survive; sets of proofs have been preserved; correspondence between author and publisher, or between the author and his friends, will fill in many gaps that might otherwise exist in the story of a text's transmission; the element of accident is considerably reduced, and the textual critic will often find himself in the happy position of having available all, or nearly all, the material that he needs from which to draw firm conclusions.

There are notable exceptions, of course, as in the case of Joyce Cary's notebooks and papers, which are likely to cause all kinds of critics concern for a long time to come. But in

general the situation is very different from that of a man like Thomas Heywood, who turned out, by his own confession, either alone or in collaboration, some 220 plays, primarily intended for production on the stage and not for publication in book form. Some two hundred of these have been lost, and the rest reached the shaky immortality of a single quarto edition without the benefit of the author's control over the printing, and indeed usually against his express wishes. What is true of Heywood is undoubtedly true of a great many of his fellow-dramatists—and this includes Shakespeare, since there is no evidence that he took the slightest interest in the printing of the quarto versions of his plays, and had been dead for some years before the First Folio was even projected. Chance and accident abound at all stages in a text's history; every single book presents problems of its own, which are not readily solved even by comparison with other books of the same period, still less by appeals to the circumstances of later, more sophisticated centuries. D. F. Foxon has made the point that

> Printing, like other crafts, is at once efficient and intensely conservative; the materials and tools changed little between 1500 and 1800, and there was little if any increase in the speed of work for the reason that highly efficient methods were already established at an early time. Since there was a traditional method of doing everything, we should never put forward an argument which assumes an abnormal method of work without producing good evidence for that method having been followed and a reason why the usual method was rejected.[12]

This is undoubtedly true, and a great source of consolation to the textual scholar. But he needs to remember too that there *were* changes, many of them subtle and far-reaching, in the minds of the men who handled these traditional tools and methods, in the minds of the authors who supplied them with material, and in the relationships between authors, printers, publishers, and readers. The effect of these on matters of textual transmission after, roughly, 1700, should make us wary of approaching earlier material with too many modern preconceptions of what is involved in such transmission.

The history of the transmission of a text from the period of the Renaissance to our own day is often a history of compromise. It is all very well for Fredson Bowers to remark that "an editor must engage himself to that most difficult of all human problems—making up his mind";[13] but what if the evidence upon which he *can* make up his mind is either not there at all or is lacking in some important item, as is frequently the case? I think it is most unlikely that I shall ever be able to make up my mind finally about Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece,* because on the basis of only six surviving copies showing an unusually high incidence of press correction (at least in the first sheet) it is almost impossible to decide exactly what was going on, and how far this process of correction extended throughout the entire edition. Textual critics are at present busily engaged in finding quartos and folios which were set by formes rather than *seriatim,* and point out, rightly, that such a method of setting may have important implications for the text; this is not the place to go into details, but reference may be made to the examples affecting Shakespeare in a recent article by Charlton Hinman.[14] But what is sometimes not made clear enough, I think, is that setting by formes, when done successfully, is by no means easy to detect; often enough it is only when something goes wrong that an editor is in the happy position of being able to make up his mind about it. The same thing applies to the identification of compositors, undoubtedly a very important part of the editorial process; my impression is that for every play in which it is possible to be certain that it was set by one compositor or by more than one, there are ten or a dozen in which some degree of possibility, or at best probability, is the best that one can hope for. One may take comfort, however, from the example of that great bibliographer and textual scholar, Sir Walter Greg. At the end of a long and industrious life devoted almost entirely to such matters, faced with the question why certain books of our period were properly entered in the Stationers' Register, while others, equally respectably and honestly printed and published, were not, without any proceedings apparently being taken

against their perpetrators, he could only reply that he did not know. The ability to admit that one does not know is a virtue in all forms of scholarship, provided that it is not an excuse for laziness or for the evasion of unpalatable facts. It is perhaps one that textual critics should cultivate a little more assiduously than they have sometimes been inclined to do; analytical and textual bibliography have certainly made enormous advances in recent years, but the point has not yet been reached at which we can claim to know all the answers.

The transmission of a text involves human activity; as my colleague Mr. John Crow once remarked, "The curious reader should remember that where there is a book, Men Have Been At Work."[15] He might have gone on to add that only one of these men is the author, and that in the period in which we are interested he tended to disappear from the scene at a distressingly early stage. For a single Ben Jonson, taking pains to see his work as accurately as possible through the press, we have scores of others who, once they had received their few pounds from an acting company for the manuscript of a play, had no further concern with what happened to it. The printer of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine,* to mention only a single case, could cheerfully tell his readers that he had omitted some scenes on his own initiative, because he did not feel that they were appropriate for the reader (as opposed to the theatre-goer) or consistent with the genius of the author; and this is by no means an isolated instance of such a procedure.[16] Bowers sees this point when he remarks that "although printing is a mechanical operation, its tools and machines are managed by human beings, not by robots," and that "it is true that the unpredictable in any individual can always pop up."[17] He goes on to quote R. B. McKerrow, who once said that some contradictory pieces of evidence could be reconciled most easily by the hypothesis that the entire printing-house had adjourned to the nearest tavern and got drunk. At the same time I feel that Bowers is perhaps too ready to play down this human element, on the very sound principle that "no one should base a theory on abnormality instead of normality of individual

routine operations unless there is overwhelming evidence in favour of the aberration."[18] On the other hand I have been fortunate enough, for the past twenty years, to be able to operate in my college a full-size replica of an Elizabethan printing press, which was built just after the war, following a hint from McKerrow that the best way to learn about bibliography and the transmission of texts was to have such a machine, set up the type by hand, and print it off yourself.[19] I am constantly amazed in this work to find just how much the human element comes into the picture, not necessarily in the form of major aberrations or abnormalities, but in a dozen small details of operation. I understand, I think, better than many people, the temptation to interfere with spelling and punctuation and word order, even, let me confess, to omit or to add words, if by so doing you can make the type fit more neatly into the composing stick instead of having to adjust the spacing earlier in the line. I understand too that this kind of wooden printing press is not exactly a precision machine, and that the printing process will be interrupted from time to time while someone bangs a new wedge into a part of the press which has begun to work loose. I know that by the end of the day, however strong you are, your arms and shoulders ache abominably, and that you do odd things unconsciously which you may or may not put right the following morning. All these are unpredictable, imponderable elements; they may not result in major, and therefore easily detectable, abnormalities, but they do enter, during our period, into the whole texture of printing. They therefore reinforce the point which I tried to make earlier, that as far as the transmission of the text is concerned our period is unique in many important respects; we must be prepared to recognize this uniqueness when it appears, and take it fully into account.

Let me now try to summarize the position as I see it. We have moved a long way from the methods of the editors of the eighteenth and ninteeenth centuries who, with a few notable exceptions, felt themselves free to work in a blissful unawareness of the textual problems involved in Renaissance

books. Printing techniques, compositorial habits, variations between different kinds of printers' copy, correction carried out during the actual printing process itself so that different copies of the same edition of a book would contain different readings—all these things meant little or nothing to them, and the business of editing was very largely one of projecting one's own critical tastes upon the text in question. We can say for these people, however, that in spite of all their faults they did at least have the interests of their authors and their readers at heart, and tried to serve these interests to the best of their ability. I sometimes have the impression that for all our more scientific approach, which enables us to sort out more easily the wheat from the chaff, we have lost something of their enthusiasm for the work upon which they were engaged; we tend to look upon editing almost as an end in itself, with the interests of the reader very low on our order of priorities. We have a new confidence in our methods, and a justifiable one in view of the results achieved, but we need to take care that our methods do not become our masters. The end is the text itself, as nearly as possible as the author intended it. We must, of course, take due account of all the processes of its transmission—the kind of manuscript that the printer received, the kind of treatment he meted out to it, the relative authority of any later reprints, whether or not a compositor was likely to refer back carefully to his copy in the case of an apparent misprint, or whether he would be prepared to make a change himself, there and then, on no other authority but his own sense of fitness, and so on and so forth. All this is absolutely essential routine work, and no editor worth his salt, whether he be in favour of old or modernized spelling, will wish to ignore it. Compromise there will be, though we hope that our methods will reduce the necessity for this as far as possible. We shall be accused of pedantry by the literary critics because we insist, for excellent reasons, upon one reading as opposed to another which they prefer, but which has no real authority behind it; but "pedant," as McKerrow pointed out, "is merely the name which one gives to anyone whose standard of ac-

curacy happens to be a little higher than one's own." Yet when all this is done, we must have the honesty to admit that chance and accident have a large part to play in the survival and transmission of Renaissance books; there are gaps in the story which we can never hope to fill, and incidents which we can never hope to explain on the basis of surviving evidence, still less on the basis of apparent parallels drawn from later periods. And while we are congratulating ourselves upon our "scientific" approach, we might remember the words of A. E. Housman, a textual critic of no mean standing, that

> a textual critic engaged upon his business is not at all like Newton investigating the motions of the planets; he is much more like a dog hunting for fleas. If a dog hunted for fleas upon mathematical principles, basing his researches on statistics of area and density of population, he would never catch a flea except by accident. They require to be treated as individuals, and every problem which presents itself to the textual critic must be regarded as possibly unique.[20]

Notes

1. An account of some of the resulting enormities may be found in Fredson Bowers, *Textual and Literary Criticism* (Cambridge, 1959), especially Chapter 1.

2. In "The Aesthetics of Literary Criticism," *PMLA,* LXXX (December 1965), 465-482; but I feel sure that he meant the remark jestingly!

3. *Bibliography and Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 3-4.

4. For a full account of the manuscript and its implications see the edition of *Le Morte d'Arthur* by Eugene Vinaver (Oxford, 1947).

5. George R. Price, "The Authorship and the Bibliography of *The Revenger's Tragedy*," *The Library,* Fifth Series, XV (1960), 262-277.

6. Bowers, *Bibliography and Textual Criticism,* pp. 7-8.

7. *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1963).

8. Alice Walker, "Some Editorial Principles (with special reference to *Henry V*)," *Studies in Bibliography,* VIII (1956), 111.

9. *Mechanick Exercises,* edited by Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (Oxford, 1958), p. 192.

10. P. 1.

11. Cited above, note 2.

12. "*The Technique of Bibliography*," *The Book,* no. 6 (1955), p. 16.

13. "What Shakespeare Wrote," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch,* XCVIII (1962), 24.

14. "Shakespeare's Text—Then, Now and Tomorrow," *Shakespeare Survey* 18 (1965), pp. 23-33.

15. "Editing and Emending," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* (1955), p. 10.

16. For further examples see W. W. Greg, *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama,* III (1957), 1191-1260.

17. *Bibliography and Textual Criticism,* p. 17.

18. *Ibid.*

19. This is actually the second press of its kind built by Professor A. H. Smith, Quain Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of London. The first, built in 1934, was destroyed when University College London was bombed during the war. An account of its construction appears in *A Description of the Hand-Press in the Department of English at University College London* by A. H. Smith (1934). This was the first book to be printed on the press by A. H. Smith and G. Tillotson, and copies of it are extremely difficult to find.

20. In a paper read to the Classical Association in 1921; quoted by H. B. Chaytor, *From Script to Print,* p. 152. Chaytor's book has now been reprinted in paperback form (1966) by Sidgwick and Jackson.

II

Martin Opitz: Literary Pioneer, Renegade Diplomat, Weathervane in the Eye of a Storm

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Any discussion of the transition from Renaissance to Baroque, especially if it should concentrate on German literature, cannot dwell on beauty, gracefulness, elegance, aesthetic pleasure, human happiness; instead, it can only present an unforgettable picture of war, fanaticism, misery, cruelty, death—and, in the midst of all this, of strength and weakness, of integrity and opportunism, of frailties and compromises that are typical of frantic human beings caught in the eye of a storm, the first decades of the Thirty Years' War. This disadvantage is all the greater because, after the peak of the Renaissance in Castiglione, Garcilaso de la Vega, Ronsard, Camoens, and Spenser there followed an age, a literature, of the Counter-Reformation, the very word for which, "Baroque," renders it objectionable, so very much so that many scholars to this day wish to deny its existence and to explain it away by calling the poets of the early seventeenth century "metaphysical" authors or "les irréguliers." And poor Germany, inferior to most of her neighbors in literary achievement, had had a flowering of Humanism and, of course, the Reformation, but certainly no Renaissance of purely aesthetic values, and had therefore even less reason to be proud of what came after that non-Renaissance, namely the Baroque. And yet, these are harsh and hasty judgments, pronounced as though literature were written only for the sake of aesthetic pleasurableness; for if we care enough to look underneath the cacophonic bloatedness of the

baroque style, we discern, more strongly perhaps than in any other literary period, a wealth of human experiences, hopes, fears, tragedies, and expressions of guilt, despair, and salvation that move us deeply.

For Martin Opitz, who was born in 1597 in Silesia, the formerly German province which produced about two-thirds of all seventeenth-century authors, and who died of the pestilence in Danzig in 1639, the decisive year was 1618, the year of the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Impossible as it may seem, in view of the vast differences between Renaissance and Baroque, he can rightfully claim to belong to both these trends. For in the naturalistic bluntness of his horror-filled condemnation of war, "Trostgedichte in Widerwärtigkeit des Krieges" (Poems of Comfort in the Vicissitudes of War), his longest sustained poetic effort of more than 2,300 lines, as well as in the religious emphasis of his adaptations of the "Klagelieder Jeremiä" (Lamentations of Jeremiah), "Das Hohe Lied Salomonis" (The Song of Songs) and the Psalms of David, he belongs chronologically at the very head of the German baroque poets bemoaning the miseries of human existence and glorifying the comforting strength of religion. Yet, since Germany never really had had a Renaissance—if by that we mean a systematic introduction of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, English, and Dutch models which could have contributed to an aesthetic amelioration of a cumbersome and clumsy late medieval vernacular German literature—Opitz, as the greatest literary pioneer of his entire century, generations later than poets of other Western nationalities, definitely deserves to be called the first distinct Renaissance-innovator, too.

Though these two aspects of Opitz' literary activity coexisted throughout his life—the personal outcries, protests, and crises of the Baroque, as well as the restraining rules of Renaissance literature and the suave, diplomatic courtliness of a former butcher's son turned aristocrat—we will do well to keep them apart and to speak of his belated Renaissance activities first. In discussing these, we will become aware of various paradoxes and evident contradictions in his life and writings,

which bear brief preliminary allusion. First, there is the nationalistic strain of every true Renaissance poet, the ambition to extol the beauties of one's own national language and one's own national greatness—and yet, since Germany had neither language nor literature nor national splendor comparable to those of other nations about 1600, Opitz advocated the eager imitation and translation of foreign masterpieces in order not only to catch up with, but to surpass the glory that was England, Spain, France, or even an equally war-ridden Holland. Second, it was an East German of undoubtedly Polish origin (his name used to be spelled Opecz) who espoused the cause of German literary greatness—and yet a man who, at the end of a noble effort, died an exile and a refugee from the Catholic Habsburgs in Danzig, a Polish City. Similar efforts at a rejuvenation of German literary greatness had come from the old German motherland between the Elbe and the Rhine rivers, especially from the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, the Fructifying Society of aristocratic poetasters established by Prince Ludwig von Anhalt-Köthen—and hence the shocked indignation of this self-appointed elite that a mere "colonial" from east of the Elbe, a mere bourgeois, should dare to attempt to make Silesia the cultural center of seventeenth-century Germany; an indignation and condescension which showed themselves best in Prince Ludwig's long feud with Opitz about the reform of German versification and in the fact that the victorious poet was finally admitted as only the two hundredth member of that illustrious Fructifying Society in 1629, twelve years after its foundation in 1617.

This incompatible combination of proud national assertion that German literature is, or can be, as good as any other literature in the world, and of a pitiful dependence on foreign authors to learn what true greatness was, appears already in Opitz' first work, written in 1617, when he was twenty: *Aristarchus, sive de contemptu linguae Teutonicae,* a bitter denunciation of the use of Latin or French prevalent in his time. This justification of a native and ennobled form of German as a suitable literary vehicle that should not be de-

spised reminds us of Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* and of du Bellay's *Défense et Illustration de la langue française*—except, alas, that Opitz came almost three hundred years after Dante, about seventy years after du Bellay, and that he wrote his diatribe against the contempt of German not in German, but in Latin! A second step to improve German literary quality, and again a paradox in itself, was that he banned the old, strictly iambic eight-syllable verse of the German meistersingers of the days of Hans Sachs and—without attempting to modernize this monotonous line by introducing the dactyl or the anapaest, which would not have violated the natural accent of German words—that he introduced the bulky French alexandrine meter instead. There again was a so-called improvement, the alexandrine, which, though very unsuitable for the German language, dominated German literature for more than a century after Opitz' death; and it was left to young Goethe in the 1770's to revive the old native eight-syllable line, the *Knittelvers* of the sixteenth century, and render it more modern and pliable.

Then, of course, there was an urgent need for a definitive Poetic Art for the new German literature-to-be, a need which Opitz supplied in 1624 with his rather shallow, yet useful, five-day job, *Das Buch von der deutschen Poeterei* (The Book of German Poetry). Of course, we are reminded not only of Aristotle and Horace; equally important among those from whom he copied all the new Renaissance dicta about rules, unities, catharsis, smoothness, and elegance of form, were Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem* of 1561, Ronsard's *Abrégé de l'art poétique français* of 1565, and most especially Daniel Heinsius' *De tragoediae constitutione* of 1611. Like most Silesian poets of his century—Gryphius, Fleming, and others—Opitz all his life was especially attracted to the cultural greatness of Holland and particularly to the personality of Heinsius, for Silesia was one of the few German provinces without a university of its own, and its young intellectuals acquired their knowledge in Holland, as did the Hamburg-born Philip von Zesen.

In spite of his anti-Catholic, anti-Austrian convictions, Opitz was crowned "poeta laureatus" by the emperor in 1625 for his pioneering work, and forthwith continued his efforts to familiarize Germans with foreign masterpieces in the field of the novel. In the days of Cervantes' *Don Quijote,* Germany had nothing that could compare with what existed abroad; only the Alsatian Johann Fischart, about 1580, had begun a "naissance" rather than a "re-naissance" of a new genre, by his free translations of Rabelais and also of Rodriguez de Montalvo's *Amadis de Gaula.* Hence now the importance of Opitz' *Argenis,* translated from the Latin of John Barclay in 1626, and of his translation of a second and entirely different English work, namely Sidney's *Arcadia* in 1638. It was not only the new technique of novel-writing which made the *Argenis* important; it was also the political background of statecraft, conspiracy, and foreign invasions in ancient Sicily, and the long, didactic dialogue-interpolations about diplomatic shrewdness, harsh taxation, social injustice, criticism of imperfect rulers, the horrors of war, which all left their deep imprint upon such later encyclopedic German baroque novels as Zesen's *Assenat* or Lohenstein's *Arminius. Argenis* appealed all the more to German readers in the throes of the Thirty Years' War because it was a *roman à clé,* dealing not so much with intrigues and religious wars with Sardinia and Mauretania, as with French-Spanish-English relations during the Holy League under Henri III. This was a situation which could well provide obvious parallels to Germany in the 1620's. As to Sidney's *Arcadia*: in addition to the fantastic flights of the *Amadis* or the opportunistic sagacity of the *Argenis,* it was especially also the escape into pastoral innocence that appealed to the upper strata threatened and ruined by a never-ending war. Though *Arcadia* had been rendered into German once before, Opitz now produced a very much better version, and thus again pointed the way to so-called "original" German pastoral literature in the manner of Boccaccio, Sannazaro, Montemayor, or Sidney. In this genre his own *Die Schäferei von der Nimphen*

Hercinie was the earliest, and Zesen's important *Adriatische Rosemund* the best.

And on he went in his indefatigable efforts to make German literary achievement catch up with that of other nations and to foist an aesthetic Renaissance upon a country which seemed to care for nothing but the religious crisis and the moral anguish, first of the Reformation, and then of the Counter-Reformation: he turned to neoclassical drama. Here again, the new trends of such writers as Trissino, Jodelle, and Norton and Sackville in the field of the tragedy, or of Ariosto, Machiavelli, Gascoigne, and Larivey in the field of the comedy, had completely bypassed Germany; all she had were the stilted humanist dramas in Latin or German by Reuchlin and Frischlin, the earnest Reformation dramas of the type of Burkhard Waldis' *Der verlorene Sohn* (The Prodigal Son), the homespun shrove-tide comedies or *Fastnachtspiele* of Hans Sachs or, by way of so-called secularized innovations, the horribly distorted, cheapened, and vulgarized masterpieces of the Elizabethans, as presented, ever since 1590, by wayfaring third-rate English comedians in Germany. It was high time, therefore, to introduce the revered classical masterpieces with their dignity, rhetoric, three unities, and decorum; and though Opitz himself was no dramatist, he could at least translate and show the way. Hence his important German rendering of Seneca's *Die Troerinnen* in 1625 and of Sophocles' *Antigone* in 1636. In a century dominated by the blood and gore of Senecan technique, these served as models for the later grand examples of Baroque drama written by the deeply religious Gryphius and the glitteringly erotic Lohenstein. We will come back to these two translations; here I only want to point to yet another paradox in Opitz' work—namely that, at a time when man's mind was convulsed by the typically baroque crosscurrents of the sensualism of the past and the spiritualism of the present, and when the poets, under the impact of the agony of war and the hell-fire thunderings of Jesuits and Puritans, were no longer interested in mere beauty and gracefulness in literature,

but wrote of sin and salvation in a stammering, stuttering, overladen, naturalistic, and discordant manner, Opitz appeared, a hundred years behind his foreign counterparts, and tried to impose rules and restraint and "bienséance" upon a suffering generation which smashed those neoclassical rules the very moment it seemed to accept them. Opitz' *Buch von der deutschen Poeterei* and his translations of Greek and Latin models could not have appeared at a worse time; and only the much greater calmness of the eighteenth century was able to absorb the teachings of Classicism, after the storm of religious frenzy, military atrocities, and agonizing conflicts had exhausted itself.

There is one more field in which Opitz distinguished himself as a literary pioneer: it was he who helped to bring the Italian opera into Germany. In its sometimes overwhelming agglomeration of all sorts of art forms, the opera lacked the linear simplicity of a Renaissance work and became, instead, a favorite genre for the luxury-loving absolutist princelings of the age of the Baroque. Yet here, too, Opitz took his place at the very beginning of a long line of development which led from Italy to Germany, when he transplanted the *Daphne* of 1597 from Florence to Germany. In 1626 he rendered the Italian text by Rinuccini into German with unusual metrical skill. As to the music, since the original by Jacopo Peri obviously would not quite have fitted the German words, he won the collaboration of the well-known composer Heinrich Schütz from Hamburg, whose music, today, is unfortunately lost, while Opitz' own pastoral libretto *Dafne* is still extant. A few years later, he adapted a second Italian opera to accelerate the promising growth of this new genre in Germany: it was, typically enough, not a pastoral play, but a deeply religious drama about Judith, based on Andrea Salvadori's *Giuditta*. No wonder that, in the face of all this path-breaking work, Opitz was finally given a letter of nobility by Ferdinand II in 1627 and called Martin Opitz von Boberfeld—a title which, bestowed by a much-hated Catholic emperor in Vienna, always embarrassed him before his Protestant friends.

After this short survey of what the belated Renaissance poet Opitz tried to achieve for Germany, we can be much briefer with what the Baroque did to him, for we want to hasten on to the tragic moment when, caught between the two fanatically hostile forces of Protestantism and Catholicism, he lost not only earthly goods like home and homeland, but, for a few years, even his spiritual integrity, by entering the Catholic camp and serving one of the most notorious persecutors of Protestants, Karl Hannibal von Dohna. His strongest and most naturalistic condemnation of man's inhumanity to man he wrote early in the war, in 1620, after the Protestant leader Frederick of the Palatinate had been completely defeated, and while Opitz himself was on a tour that was to take him from Heidelberg to his friends in Holland and even to Denmark, before he returned to Silesia: it was the beforementioned "Trostgedichte in Widerwärtigkeit des Krieges," a merciless denunciation of the Imperial Catholic extermination of German Protestants. Yet such were the frightful spiritual pressures of the time that Opitz kept these poems secret for thirteen years; for, with the defeat of the Protestant forces, his homeland Silesia had been returned to Catholic overlordship—and during the Danish and the early Swedish phases of the great war, and his own submission to Catholic service, he kept quiet and published the "Trostgedichte" only in 1633, when, after Dohna's death, he could openly return to the fold of his fellow-Protestants and frankly admit just where he stood. More important than his own "Klagelieder Jeremiä" in which he compared the destruction of biblical Jews and contemporary Germans, or his translation of Daniel Heinsius' poem "Lobgesang Jesu Christi" (Song of Praise of Jesus Christ) in which the Savior alone is able to help us in this valley of tears which is the world, is his bitterly satirical "Lob des Kriegsgottes" (Praise of the God of War) of 1628, about the supreme folly of all strata of the German population—priests, politicians, and mercenaries foremost among them—who, forsaking reason and tolerance, were willing to entrust their lives and perplexities to

Mars alone, with hunger, pestilence, and death following in his wake.

Yet it was in his translations of tragedies on classical and biblical themes that Opitz managed to convey most strikingly his baroque message of the "vanitas vanitatum vanitas," of the misery and transitoriness of man and of his conviction that *constantia,* steadfastness, courage, and integrity alone can help us achieve the kingdom of God. Despite its new-fangled neo-classical rules and rhetorical exercises, *The Trojan Women,* after all, brought in Senecan influences at their worst, the technique of horror and gore, and a picture of utter defeat, devastation, murder, and rape of the hapless Trojans, the children of Hecuba, such as Germany herself was to experience within a few years of the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. *The Trojan Women* was indeed a grim prophecy of things to come, a Roman tragedy easily adapted to German conditions, a mere foretaste of what Grimmelshausen, in 1669, was to describe in the most powerful and most stirring novel of the entire German seventeenth century, when in religious intensification of Spanish picaresque models he dealt with the adventures of *Simplicius Simplizissimus* during those thirty years of mutual slaughter in the name of Christ. Even greater was Opitz' chance when he translated Sophocles' *Antigone,* for this was no longer merely the tragedy of an exalted heroine who died defending decency and humaneness against the brutal arrogance of tyrants. More than that: *Antigone,* in Opitz' version written while he was a refugee in Torun, Poland, became the prototype of a Christian martyr-tragedy, of a determined and unconquerable Christian zealot who would rather die a hundred deaths than surrender her integrity and yield one inch to the powers of evil. No other genre in the whole realm of Baroque literature proved as popular as the martyr-tragedy, offering such a splendid chance of combining, on the blood-dripping stage, noblest religious exaltation with crudest displays of torture, beastliness, and death; the many examples from Gryphius' *Katharina von Georgien* in Germany to Calderón's *El principe constante* in Spain, from Massinger's

Virgin Martyr in England to Corneille's more restrained *Polyeucte* in France, from Vondel's *Maidens* in Holland to Causinus' *Felicitas* among the proselytizing Jesuits all over Europe prove that fact sufficiently. Here again, Opitz, with a new twist to the inspiring old theme of Antigone, was in the very midst of the Baroque mainstream. And finally his opera libretto on *Judith* gave him yet another opportunity to underscore the message that it is better to risk one's human existence than to live in dishonor; to stand up against pillaging and raping Assyrians under Holofernes than to endure the further miseries of the war-stricken Jewish, alias German, people. Antigone pleads and dies, but Judith lives and kills for her high principles; yet in both cases, the integrity of two gigantic and deeply religious heroines is beyond question.

And yet—to turn to the last third of our sketch of Opitz' life and work, his activity as a renegade diplomat—we must understand and perhaps even learn to forgive the fact that at a certain moment the pressures became too great and that the breaking point was reached, that he forsook the integrity which Gryphius was to extol in all his martyr-tragedies, and that, unemployed and at that time still rejected by the Fructifying Society, he accepted, from 1626 to 1633, an increasingly significant secretarial and diplomatic position with the most notorious counter-reformer, Karl Hannibal von Dohna, himself a former Lutheran, who had become the Emperor's right-hand man in the largely Protestant province of Silesia. Since they were both highly intelligent men and good friends, Dohna never insisted that Opitz should actually be a convert to the Catholic faith. It was thanks to Dohna that he acquired his aristocratic title; it was to placate his new Catholic friends that he translated the ecstatic, amorous, rustic "Song of Songs" of Solomon; it was to Dohna that he dedicated his second most important poem, his harsh "Lob des Kriegsgottes." That friendship persisted up to the moment of Dohna's death in 1633, even though not all their combined diplomatic wire-pulling against the Protestants was successful.

One failure was Opitz' trip to the king of Poland, trying in vain to make that Catholic ruler keep on with his war against Sweden, for the new peace between these two Baltic nations permitted Gustavus Adolphus to assume an increasingly anti-Catholic stance in Germany and finally to join the Protestant alliance against Vienna, Rome, and Madrid. Equally unproductive was Opitz' diplomatic journey to Paris to read the political barometer in the capital of France, which, likewise, a few years later, was to become involved in the Thirty Years' War on the Protestant side, in spite of Dohna's early attempts to block that shocking possibility. However, in order to exonerate Opitz from too much culpability in these diplomatic activities (many of which were so secret that they may not reveal the possibly very conciliatory attitude he took in religious controversies), it should be stressed that while in Paris he not only made the acquaintance of the famous Dutch author and lawyer, Hugo Grotius, but also became friendly with the leaders of the outstanding peace movement at that time, who, borrowing their name from the Greek word for peace, *eirene,* called themselves *Ireniker* or irenicists. Already in the racial and religious mixture of the Silesian-Polish borderlands, which consisted of Lutherans, Catholics, and many nonconformist Protestant sects and mystics, Opitz had encountered many idealists who strove for peace on the basis of complete religious tolerance; and here in Paris, it was Hugo Grotius who turned out to be the spiritual leader of the *Ireniker* and who had summed up his convictions in an important treatise *De veritate religionis christianae.* After his return to Silesia late in 1630, Opitz was requested by Dohna to translate this work into German, for, through the publication of such a basically tolerant book in Germany also, Dohna may well have hoped to establish the climate which would induce the French to keep out of the war, and the Swedes to make peace with the Catholic emperor in Vienna. But when *Von der Wahrheit der christlichen Religion* finally appeared in 1631, the die was cast, Gustavus Adolphus was ready to march against Tilly, and Dohna was no longer interested in any peace negotiations.

Far less respectable is Opitz' silence and acquiescence when the religious persecutions instigated by Dohna forced scores of thousands of his fellow-Silesians, including Opitz' own father, either to accept the Catholic faith (which they did not) or to emigrate to Danzig, Eastern Prussia, or other parts of the remarkably tolerant Catholic Polish nation. With Protestant bitterness growing both against Dohna and against himself, Opitz found that he was not safe in the Catholic camp either, for the Jesuits in Dohna's retinue mistrusted the Protestant Opitz in their midst, vilified him, and tried to have him dismissed. It was at this critical time that he not only began to participate in Catholic church services but, at Dohna's request, even agreed to translate into German a notorious Latin Jesuit tract on proselytizing, the *Manuale controversiarum* by Martin Becanus. It was a handbook of the best arguments most successfully used in Rome's efforts to re-convert wayward Protestants. It succeeded momentarily in getting the Jesuits off his back, but in the eyes of his contemporary fellow-Protestants as well as of modern critics, it certainly was not a work to add to his fame or to prove his moral integrity. Indeed, his shame over it may well have been a contributing factor when, after the great Swedish victory at Lützen in 1632, Dohna's flight and unsuccessful attempt to raise another Catholic army in Poland, and his unlamented death in Prague, Opitz openly broke with the Catholic faction, reverted to his forsaken Protestant fellow-Silesians and, as a token of his good faith, finally published the most militantly anti-Catholic work of his youth, the "Trostgedichte in Widerwärtigkeit des Krieges." Nor did the fact that he had translated Grotius' *De veritate religionis christianae* diminish the joy of the Protestants over the return of the Prodigal Son.

Once back in the Protestant camp, Opitz was indeed a loyal and diligent diplomat and defender of his co-religionists against Austrian encroachments. The Swedish victory at Lützen was a mirage of short duration, for there followed Wallenstein's rout of the Protestants at Nördlingen, the complete loss

of Silesia to Imperial troops, and Opitz' undismayed, but pitiful, end as one of thousands of refugees in Poland. It was here that he adapted his *Judith* and translated his *Antigone,* and wrote a heartfelt poem in praise of King Vladislav IV and of the peace, decency, prosperity, tolerance, and hospitality of the entire Polish nation—a poem which present-day Polish scholars no doubt will quote again and again in order to prove the basic pro-Polishness of the land and the people of Silesia, even in bygone centuries, in the days of such great and unwittingly "Polish" writers in the German language as Jakob Böhme, Martin Opitz, Paul Fleming, Andreas Gryphius, Angelus Silesius, Daniel Czepko, Friedrich von Logau, Daniel Kaspar von Lohenstein, and Hofman von Hofmannswaldau. In 1636 Opitz moved from Torun to Danzig, where he became historiographer of the Polish king and his diplomatic adviser in the ever-shifting situations of the Thirty Years' War, in constant contact with Sweden and the north-German Protestants, ever anxious to keep Poland out of the clutches of Catholic Austria, even though, to his great distress, Vladislav IV married a Habsburg princess. His fame as poet, statesman, and literary law-giver of Germany was undisputed; both Königsberg and Warsaw welcomed him with honor; and his last significant work was a new translation of the "Psalms of David," in which he again tried to conciliate, and to appeal to Protestants and Catholics alike, and also to the new French allies of German Protestantism; for he adjusted his German rendering to the French melodies composed for the translations of David made by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze: "Die Psalmen Davids nach französischen Weisen gesetzet." In August, 1639, Opitz died of the plague which was raging in Danzig, at the age of only forty-two, to the very end busy with literary and diplomatic activity, and hopeful that the French intervention in the war and reinforcements from Sweden might yet lead to a victory over the Habsburgs, which would enable him and untold numbers of other refugees to return to a Silesia that had been German ever since the great Guelphs of the twelfth century.

Thus ends our sketch of the life, the work, the death of Martin Opitz, a mediocre poet, but an important literary pioneer, a representative of the Renaissance in Germany long after that movement of renewal had died out in other countries, an early voice of the anguish and pessimism of the Baroque long before the full impact of the Trinity Years' War and of crudest religious intolerance settled over the north-European heartland; a poet unafraid to challenge the literary hegemony, such as it was, of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft and other condescending groups of Western Germany, and to make the east-Elbian, so-called "colonial" German-Polish borderland of Silesia for the first time the undisputed center of German literature—yet also, at a critical moment, when poverty, lack of acknowledgment, and the mounting pressures of religious zealots drove him into a corner, momentarily a weak reed, a drowning man anxious to survive, at least to survive long enough in the storm of time until his better self could reassert itself and, with redoubled strength, he could return to the faith of his fathers and the respect of his friends. Thus, whatever his literary greatness or importance may or may not be, he offers us at least a human, a very human, picture of a victim of his time, caught in a web not of his own making, and his last years an edifying illustration of an integrity lost and regained, of an *Antigone* forgotten and rediscovered.

III

Did Plato Banish the Poets?

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In Plato's *Laws* the Athenian speaker provides for censorship of poets in his Utopian state. A government commission is to examine poetry, old and new, and permit only that which praises justice and the virtuous life. "Thousands of persons," says the Athenian,

keep saying that young people who are well educated will be nourished with an abundant diet of poetry, and will be expected to read until they have learned a great deal of verse and committed whole authors to memory. Some educators collect summaries from all the poets and make anthologies and insist that they be learned word for word, that the young may be good and wise as the result of the experience and wisdom brought before them. Do you now wish me to make clear to these believers in poetry wherein they are wrong and wherein they are right? . . . What single correct statement can I make about all of them? Perhaps something like this, namely that everybody would agree with me that each of the poets has said many things that are good, and many that are quite the opposite. If this is true, I say that it is dangerous for the young to acquire this extensive knowledge of poetry.

Further the Athenian would legislate:

The citizens shall compose encomiums and poems of censure upon one another, according as each has conducted himself in the games and in all of life, praising the one who is esteemed as having done very well and blaming him who has not. Yet not every poet shall compose these, but one who is, first, not less than fifty years of age, and not any of those who merely have in them a sufficiency of poetry and music but never have achieved any noble

action. But the poems of those who are themselves noble and are honored in the city and are doers of splendid deeds are to be chosen, even if they have no poetical charm. . . . To others no permission shall be given, nor shall anyone dare to chant an unauthorized poem, unapproved by the guardians of the law, even though it be sweeter than the hymns of Thamyras and Orpheus, but only such as are written by good men and judged to be correct in the blame and praise they assign to various persons. (8.829)

Consider for a moment what this would mean. Poetry is to be written by generals, by senators, by successful scientists and businessmen, even if it has no poetical charm. Did a Plato who himself had written verses, who quoted so many poets in his *Dialogs*—did he feel no amusement when he had the Athenian assign the composition of verses to fifty-year-old heroes?

Remembering this assignment of poetic composition to Douglas MacArthur and J. Pierpont Morgan, we may observe what Socrates says on poetry in the *Republic.* He declares that the young should not read stories in which the gods act wrongfully, as when Zeus quarreled with Hera or fought with other divinities or deprived his father of sovereignty. Even Homer represents the gods as acting falsely (*Republic* 2). Homer, too, represents Achilles as showing a lack of self-control that no young man should imitate. Such poetry is not to be admitted to the city, because it will produce in the young an inclination to evil. Even trivial imitation is rejected, such as "thunderclaps, and the noises of the wind and of hail and of axles and pulleys, and the notes of flutes and pipes and all instruments, and the sounds of dogs and sheep and birds" (*Republic* 3. 397). So, says Socrates,

if a man able through wisdom to take many shapes and to imitate all sorts of things should come to our city, asking that he and his poems should be received, we should, I think, reverence him as holy and wonderful and pleasing, but should say that there is no such man in our city and it is not lawfully possible for there to be such an one, and we should send him away to another city, after pouring myrrh on his head and crowning him with woolen

fillets, but we should prefer to use for our benefit a more austere and less skilful poet and story-teller, who would imitate the discourse of the excellent man, and would tell what he had to tell after those models which we had put into law from antiquity, when we undertook to train our guards. (3.398)

This passage also has its comedy. The very clever modern poet, whose skill is admitted, is both honored and swept out of the city as soon as possible. Yet even Homer is to be censored, in so far as he does not imitate the brave, the dignified, and the self-controlled, or at least does not assign bad actions to characters who are to be despised. Thus Plato makes Socrates reject from his Utopian city, poetry which does not fit his plans. It cannot be too much emphasized that he does not reject all poetry.

Late in the *Republic,* Socrates returns to the topic:

I think of many things assuring me that we founded our city more rightly than any other, but not least am I confident when speaking of poetry, for we did not receive at all as much of her as is imitative. . . . Do not accuse me to the writers of tragedy and all the other imitators, for all such writings seem to me ruin for the intellects of the hearers, if they do not have as a protective medicine the perception of what such imitations really are. (10.595)

On resuming here, Socrates appears more sweeping than earlier, prohibiting all dramatic works. He qualifies his prohibition, however, by allowing them to those who understand their nature. This seems one of the places where we imagine that—with interruption of the dialog—we for a moment listen to Plato himself, here saying that objections to dramatic works do not apply to those who understand literary criticism, that he is objecting to the reading of drama only for those who do not understand its nature. For evidence we can, as often, turn to Plato's writings and their history. They are all imitative, in the sense that Socrates and the others speak for themselves. Yet, though all expositors know they are dialogs, I know of none who fully treats them as such. Hence manifold error in dealing with Plato's writings, as I shall soon explain.

I continue Socrates' discussion of imitative poetry by quoting from two translations: one of them is current; the other is my attempt at a more Platonic rendering. I do not use the version of the pious Jowett, which has influenced countless readers of Plato, but that of the obscure H. D. P. Lee, which has been popular as a Penguin Book since 1955. I have chosen him partly because he attempts, he says, "to use the kind of language that people really do use" (p. 48). In carrying this plan out, he once makes Plato's Glaucon exclaim: "Gosh! that's going to be a funny sight." Here then is part of the Tenth Book of the *Republic,* in which Socrates speaks with Glaucon on Ideas or Forms and imitative poetry.

Republic 10. 596 B-597 E
Translated by H. D. P. Lee

[If we are to discuss bedsteads and tables, it appears that] there are many particular beds and tables.

Yes.

But there are only two Forms, one of Bed and one of Table.

Yes.

Then we normally say that the maker of either of these kinds of furniture has his eye on the appropriate Form; and similarly with other things. For no one could possibly make the Form itself, could he? . . . And what about the carpenter? Didn't you agree that what he produces is not the essential Form of Bed, the ultimate reality, but a particular bed? . . .

We have seen that there are three sorts of bed. The first exists in the ultimate nature of things, and if it was made by anyone, it must, I suppose, have been made by God. The second is made by the carpenter, the third by the painter.

Yes, that is so.

So painter, carpenter, and God are each responsible for one kind of bed.

Yes.

God created only one essential Form of Bed in the ultimate nature of things, either because he wanted to or because some necessity prevented him from making more than one; at any rate he didn't produce more than one, and more than one could not possibly be produced.

Why?

Because, suppose he created two only, you would find that they both shared a common character or form, and this common character would be ultimate reality.

That's true.

And I suppose that God knew it, and as he wanted to be the real creator of a real Bed, and not just a carpenter making a particular bed, decided to make the ultimate reality unique.

I suppose so.

Then do you think we might call him the author of the nature of things, or some such name?

We could do so with justice; for all his creations are ultimate realities.

And what about the carpenter? Doesn't he manufacture the bed?

Yes.

And what about the artist? Does he make or manufacture?

No.

Then what does he do?

I think we may fairly say that he represents what the other two make.

Good, said I. Then the artist's representation stands at the third remove from reality?

It does.

So the tragic poet, whose art is representation, is third in succession to the throne of truth; and the same is true of all other artists.

Republic 10. 596 B-597 E
Translated by the writer

If we are to discuss bedsteads and tables, we may say that there are many individual bedsteads and tables.

Yes.

But there are, it seems, two mental groups (categories, general concepts) for these objects, one the group of bedstead, the other that of table.

Yes.

And don't we usually say that the makers of each of these two objects, having in mind the general concept of each, make some-

times bedsteads, sometimes tables, such as we use, and various similar things? But you allow that none of these workmen makes the general concept itself. How could he? . . . But now what sort of bedstead does the furniture maker turn out? Just now didn't you say that he doesn't make the bedstead as we define it, which we say is what the bedstead is, but some one bedstead? . . .

Well then, there exist three bedsteads such as the following: first, one of them is in the nature of things; about this we can say, I suppose, that the gods worked it out—or do you want me to find some one else?

You needn't hunt further, I am sure.

Next, there is one the furniture maker turned out.

Yes, he said.

Last, there is one that the painter (the artist) made. Or don't you agree?

I accept it.

So painter, bedstead maker, gods—these three are responsible for three kinds of bedstead.

Yes, three kinds.

So the gods, whether they didn't wish to or whether some necessity was laid upon them, did not themselves work out more than one bedstead in the nature of things, so that they made just this one only which really is a bedstead; but two or more never were produced by the gods nor may such ones exist.

How's that? he said.

Because, I said, if they should make just two, then again one only would for a second time appear, from which those two would get their shape, and that one would be the bed which really is, but the two would not.

That's right, he said.

So, I said, since the gods, knowing these things, wished to be the real makers of the bedstead that really exists, but not of some individual bed, and did not want to be individual bedstead makers, they gave being to this one bed in the nature of things.

That's probable.

Do you think, then, that we should call the gods in this activity makers, or some such name?

It would be right, if in the nature of things they did this and all the other things.

What about the furniture maker? Don't you consider him the maker of a bedstead?

Yes.

And don't you think the painter the producer and maker of such a thing?

Not at all.

But what do you think he has to do with the bed?

This, I think, he said is what he may reasonably be called: an imitator of what the others produce.

You say, then, that the imitator is in the third remove from the nature of things?

Quite so, he said.

Accordingly, the writer of tragedies, since he is an imitator, will be of the third generation from the king and the truth, and so will all the other imitators.

You have noted differences between the two versions. I do not use the words *Forms* and *Ideas,* to which Mr. Lee gives capital letters, as though to show their sacredness, but rather I use the words *general notions* or *categories* or *mental groups,* in translating the words commonly rendered *Forms* and *Ideas. Idea* is not a translation, but merely a transliteration to avoid searching for meaning. *Categories,* though not fully satisfactory as a translation, lacks some of the distracting associations of the terms *kinds, classes, genera,* etc. The word *concepts,* regarded with horror by extreme Idealists, I believe acceptable. Here, and in other passages where the translators offer *Forms* and *Ideas,* Socrates is dealing with the grouping or classification of similar objects. For example, a number of objects said to be beautiful, though different from each other in many ways, such as a horse and a rose, can be put in the pigeonhole or the filing folder marked *beauty.*

I have changed Mr. Lee's word *God,* with a capital letter, to *the gods.* Plato uses the singular and the plural of the Greek word for *god* with no detectable difference in meaning, as has been shown in monographs on the subject.[1] The Mosaic, monotheistic suggestion of the singular with a capital is unjustified and misleading. Plato's use of the words is commonly vague

and without reverence. About one of the bedsteads, Socrates says that the gods produced it, adding: "or do you want me to find some other maker?" This is hardly piety. He refers to the definition of a bed, which covers all individual beds. This definition, or even—for the inaccurate—vague notion, exists; where it came from we need not specify, suggests Socrates. The word *gods* will do as implying vague power, but on demand, Socrates will look for some other source for the concept or mental group called *bed.*

You also observe that my translation does not offer such words as *essential, ultimate, reality*; these make abstractions of Plato's concrete simplicity. By compression, Mr. Lee lessens the conversational effect of the original.

In the passage translated, the theory of poetry is linked with the Transcendental Ideas. According to this doctrine of Ideas or Forms, there exist, above the reach of human perception, realities from which whatever we see and know takes its being. These Ideas exist in the divine intelligence. Beauty in and for itself resides there; from that beauty, the beauty apparent in earthly objects is derived. Some such theory was probably known to Plato, it may be appearing to him an exaggeration of the useful positing of general concepts. Aristotle knew of such a theory, perhaps attributing it to Plato's followers rather than to their master. At any rate, he thought it offered useless duplication, adding to what is evident to the human mind a parallel realm beyond man's use, and of no value. Or are the Ideas—he asks—poetical fancies? Surely they were welcome to Neoplatonic poets; Edmund Spenser writes:

> What time this world's great workmaster did cast
> To make all things . . .
> he before his eyes had placed
> A goodly Pattern, to whose perfect mould
> He fashioned them as comely as he could,
> That now so fair and seemly they appear
> As nought may be amended anywhere.

That wondrous Pattern wheresoere it be,
Whether on earth laid up in secret store,
Or else in heaven, that no man may it see
With sinful eyes, for fear it to deflore,
Is perfect beauty.

(*Hymn in Honor of Beauty*)

Many of the *Dialogs* contain no manifest allusion to the Transcendent Ideas or Forms. As I. M. Crombie writes: "The classical theory of forms is prominent in the *Cratylus, Phaedo, Symposium, Republic,* and *Timaeus*" (*An Examination of Plato's Doctrines;* London and New York, 1962, vol. 2, p. 253). From this group he excludes all the other dialogs, even the *Phaedrus* and the *Parmenides.* Thus Plato's references to the Ideas are limited. Yet some scholars hold that throughout his life Plato inculcated a system founded on these supermundane Ideas. For them such Ideas are, therefore, implicit in all Platonic writing. For example, Professor Morrow writes:

If we are looking for what is truly real, in contrast to the variable world of sensation, opinion, and convention, we can find it only in the Ideas, the unchanging and intelligible entities that alone enable us to understand the flux of existence, and of which the sensible world can best be regarded as an imperfect imitation. The Ideas, Plato had said on numerous occasions, are what is truly real; they are what exists by nature. One of these Ideas is the Idea of Justice; "justice itself" is "natural justice" . . . Plato says nothing of this doctrine of Ideas [when discussing impiety in the *Laws*] but we should keep it in mind if we hope to understand why he regards belief in God as a necessary foundation of the state. To deny the existence of God (or the gods) or their concern for justice, is for Plato equivalent to denying the reality of any transcendental source of law. (*Plato's Cretan City*; Princeton, 1960, p. 480)

By this method, the supersensible Ideas can be found throughout Plato's writings. Incidentally, you observe that for Professor Morrow the *Laws* are purely expository; my own belief is that they, like Plato's other works, are dramatic, giving

opinions proper for the Athenian speaker, not those to be unhesitatingly assigned to Plato himself. You see also that the passage is completely transcendental, assuming a "real" world contrasted to the world we perceive with our senses. Once a student is assured that Plato wishes to inculcate a rigid system of Ideas, he can easily find them. But where the words translated "Ideas" or "Forms" occur, a normal translation can always be given with such terms as *categories, general concepts.* Yet anybody already convinced that Plato believed in transcendent, supersensible realities can easily bring plenty of them into his version. Most translators have done so, in the belief that, as one modern says, "Plato introduces us to a world of spiritual realities, the unseen world of Forms." Yet even in the poetical *Phaedrus,* the super-mundane Ideas are not necessary. Indeed the generally transcendental Jowett there Englishes the Greek *eidos* as I would myself, as *universals* or *general notions* (margin); can this be an inadvertence? The French translator, Robin, justifies his transcendentalism with the rendering *Idèe* (249 B). Even in the *Parmenides,* the term *Ideas* or *Forms* is not necessary, though perhaps easier than anywhere else. This dialog is sometimes interpreted, as by A. E. Taylor, as comic (*Plato*; London, 1929, p. 351). This we may accept, but what part of it is comic? At least Parmenides labors ponderously with the general notions, or if you will, the *Ideas.* Then the young and inexperienced Socrates says: What are they but general notions (132 B)? Perhaps this is the pricking of Parmenides' bubble,[2] the satire of a theorist who makes a valuable notion too heavy. Dare we think that here Socrates speaks for Plato?

The transcendental assumption has been made the easier by the postulate that Plato's dialogs are not actually dialogs, but are solemn pieces of exposition, developing Plato's system. Such a view—still ruling even when Platonists find irony and playfulness—takes Plato's vague references to the gods or to heaven in deadly earnest. Thus the belief in supernal Ideas is sustained.

The wish to make Plato the high priest of the supermundane seems to have begun early. Can it even have been founded on passages, as in the *Parmenides,* where Plato is ironical? Aristotle knew of it. The mentality of Neoplatonism led to emphasis on what may be called, vaguely, the mystical interpretation of Plato. This was reinforced by the supernaturalism of Augustine and other theologians. By Ficino, who made Plato a theologian, a supermundane interpretation was welcomed. In his knowledge of Greek, however, Ficino sometimes astonishingly uses a rational translation, writing *species* where *Idea* might be expected from a transcendentalist.[3] In more recent times, scholarly inertia has joined with theological feeling, which still has remained strong. The historian, George Grote, unhampered by theology, broke through the age-long assumption that the *Dialogs* are works of exposition, but the force of the tradition conquered him when he reached the *Laws.* Jowett seems to have been above all a Church of England divine, welcoming Plato as an early believer in the City of God in the heavens. Dies, a French proponent of the transcendent Ideas, is a Jesuit. Paul Shorey—probably the most conspicuous American writer on Plato—saw Plato as an artist, but so limited his view that he could call a volume "What Plato said," not "What Socrates said." His Plato is an expositor, not a dramatist. He, too, thought of Plato as a precursor of Saint Paul.

The list of writers who have intrepreted Plato as a transcendental dogmatist is impressive. I have, however, read Milton's prose works too much to be impressed by the argument of authority. At present I am willing to call the notion that Plato presented an unattainable realm of Ideas one of the most astonishing errors that ever has befuddled the scholarly world.

If so, we can think of Socrates as a dramatic character, often speaking ironically, and willing to examine both sides of any notion. Once we do that, the discussion of the poets offers no great difficulty. But we must abandon a Plato announcing a version of the Mosaic theology, and accept "sage Philosophy" as

> From Heaven descended to the low-roofed house
> Of Socrates.
>
> (*Paradise Regained*, 4.273)

as Milton's Satan puts it. This is the Socrates who brought Philosophy to dwell with men, the Socrates whom Callicles and Alcibiades ridicule for talking about asses carrying loads, and smiths such as everybody knows about, and shoemakers and tanners (*Gorgias* 491 A; *Symposium* 221 E). One modern Platonist, A. E. Taylor, admits that discussion of bedsteads and tables is "half jocular," and finds comedy in Parmenides' debate over Ideas for mud and sticks.[4] If not from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* or Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* or a Kantian *Critique,* but rather from Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods,* a reader turns to Plato, he is ready for dialog. Did Plato intend the tone of conversation, with informality, humor, irony, dramatic quality? If he had wished systematic and logical exposition, was he incapable of writing it? Did he refrain from it without deliberation? On the manner of Plato, may I quote from George Grote, the historian of Greece?

> There exists for us no personal Plato any more than there is a personal Shakespeare. Plato (except in the *Epistles*) never appears before us nor gives us any opinion as his own. He is the unseen prompter of different characters who converse aloud in a number of distinct dramas—each drama a separate work, manifesting its own view, affirmative or negative, consistent or inconsistent with the others. . . . In so far as I venture to present a general view of one who keeps constantly in the dark—who delights to dive and hide himself, not less difficult to catch than the supposed Sophist in his own dialog called *Sophistes*—I shall consider it as subordinate to the dialogs, each and all; above all, a general view must be such as to include and acknowledge not merely diversities, but also inconsistencies and contradictions. . . . The borrowed names under which Plato wrote, and the veil of dramatic fiction, gave him greater freedom as to the thoughts enunciated, and were adopted for the express purpose of acquiring greater freedom. (*Plato*; London, 1865, Vol. I, 210, 211, 231)

Observing that Socrates expresses different opinions on Being and Not-Being in the *Theaetetus, Sophistes,* and *Kratylus,* Grote asks: "Which of the three dialogs presents Plato's belief?" He answers:

To such questions on the Platonic writings, I see no satisfactory reply, if we are to consider Plato as a positive philosopher, with a scheme and edifice of methodized opinions in his mind, and as composing all his dialogs with the set purpose either of inculcating these opinions in the reader or of refuting the opinions opposed to them. This supposition is what most Platonic critics have in their minds, even when professedly modifying it. Their admiration for Plato is not satisfied unless they conceive him in the professorial chair as a teacher, surrounded by a crowd of learners, all under the obligation (incumbent on learners generally) to believe what they hear. So considered, the Platonic dialogs present themselves to me as a mystery. They exhibit neither identity of the teacher nor identity of the matter taught; the composer is Many, and not One—he is more complex than Typhon. . . . The value of the *Dialogs* resides not in the result, but in the discussion—not in the conclusion but in the premises for and against it. . . . In different dialogs, the same subject is set before you in various ways, with remarks and illustrations sometimes tending toward one theory, sometimes toward another. It is for you to compare and balance them, and to elicit such result as your reason approves. The Platonic *Dialogs,* in order to produce their effect, require from the reader a response, a strong reaction; they demand that the reader be interested in the process of dialectic scrutiny. (*Plato*; Vol. II, 550, 551)

Thus Grote appears as an accomplished literary critic. If he had continued to expound Plato according to these principles, I should have less to say this afternoon. But after this splendid beginning, he falls into the error he attributes to most other Platonists, that of treating the *Dialogs* as scientific exposition. Like those others, in defiance of his perceptive observation that "Plato never appears before us nor gives us any opinion as his own," he begins sentences with such words as *Plato himself says.* He even declares that Plato in the *Laws* becomes a

dogmatist. This strange opinion is still the normal one. But regretting Grote's lapse into traditional Platonism, I take him at his best, to give us assurance that even if we could suppose that Socrates affirmed belief in the supermundane Ideas, we do not need to accept them as part of a Platonic philosophical system.

Such a question on general concepts or categories as *What is beauty?* seems important to Socrates, yet he never allows the debate on it to become unduly heavy, relieving it with irony and other comedy. When he brings in the gods in the vague way I have mentioned, we are in an atmosphere of *God only knows, I don't.* For myself, then, I abandon Plato the Transcendental Idealist for Plato the dramatist, who shows us characters debating matters of interest to thoughtful men, wishing to show the complexity of even simple beliefs rather than to make dogmatic statements about truth. I suggest that if you are at all influenced by my iconoclasm, you be cautious in mentioning it to Platonists. Traditionalists will be incredulous, or even moved to ridicule.

As we have seen, Socrates connected poetic imitation and the expulsion of the poets with the general notions traditionally called (by transliteration of the Greek word) *Ideas,* or *Forms.* When the nature of Plato's work as dramatic dialog, with the consequent rejection of the supermundane Ideas as part of a system, is realized, the passages on the poets thereby slough off much of their difficulty. They become instances of debate, even of conversational paradox—anything but a "great negation of art" as, throughout his career, Benedetto Croce supposed they were (*Aesthetic* [London, 1922], p. 158; *La Poesia* [1953], p. 216).

Plato had at his command much poetry, enabling him to furnish Socrates with apposite quotations. For example, the third book of the *Republic* yields twenty-six quotations from Homer, and other references without quotations. Socrates enjoys poetry. With regret he banishes the poets, saying:

> If poetry for the sake of pleasure and imitation can say something reasonable to show that she can properly exist in a well-regulated

city, we shall gladly receive her back from exile, since we know from our own experience that we have been charmed by her, but to abandon what seems true is not holy. Yet, my friend, are you yourself not charmed by her, especially when you see her through Homer? . . . Does justice, then, not allow her to return, for the purpose of making her defence in lyric meter or some other? . . . We ought also to allow her partisans, those who are not poets but lovers of poets, to make speeches for her without meter, showing that she is not merely pleasing but also helpful to governments and human life, and we shall be glad to listen to them. For you know it will be an advantage to us, if she appears not merely pleasing but also beneficial. . . . Through our inbred love of such poetry, because of our bringing up in excellent states, we shall be happy in having her appear good and true. (*Republic* 10.607, 608)

But whatever Socrates says, for or against poetry, is not to be made Plato's opinion. Socrates is a whimsical character in dialog, intent on looking into beliefs commonly accepted without criticism. One of these beliefs was that Homer's poems were textbooks of morals. Socrates has no difficulty in showing that this is not true. In so doing he acts as a champion of poetry, defending her from those who make poetry into prose. Homer's function is to give poetic pleasure, not to give instruction in morals, or in factual matters. In the *Ion,* Socrates ridicules a man who thought he could learn military theory from Homer.

Those giving poetry an exalted valuation, and disturbed by Socrates' strictures, have fallen back on his repeated references to the inspiration of the poet, as in the *Ion.* But in that dialog, Socrates amuses himself by identifying Ion's ignorance with inspiration. Cross and Woozley among moderns perceive that Socrates is not wholly serious in his use of inspiration.[5] If we take dialog as dialog, not as solemn philosophical exposition, it is the easier to see that Socrates always, as I think, is comic or semi-comic when speaking of inspiration. Socrates' recurrence to inspiration hints that—familiar in Homer's invocation of the Muse—it may have been associated with extravagant praise of the poet's greatness. However much Socrates praises the

benefits to human character from the harmony of the best art, he is discriminating in his praise, or—perhaps a better way of putting it—never ceases to look on all sides of the matter, admitting that there are incompetent artists, and human defects in the best art. In the *Phaedrus,* classifying men of various sorts, he ranks the poet only in the sixth class. The poet, too, as an imitator, is remote from the king and truth. Quite apart from the banishment of the poets from the Utopian republic, Socrates' estimate of the artist cannot be satisfactory to extreme laudators of the artist. Those in our time or any other who make the artist a superman cannot tolerate Socrates.

Especially the notion that the artist is an imitator is anathema to many. An extreme and often amusing assertion of the artist's near divinity is found in the absurdity of what is called non-representative painting. The painter in his Godlike position as a creator is to make things directly, just as the Almighty created the universe *ex nihilo.* Something of this state of mind Socrates encountered. In the *Apology,* he says that, searching for wisdom,

> I went to the poets . . . thinking they would catch me in the very act of being less wise than they were. So taking up the poems they had, as it seemed to me, elaborated most carefully, I asked them what they meant, expecting not merely that my ignorance would appear but that I would learn something from them. But I am ashamed, gentlemen, to tell you the truth; yet I must speak. I might say that almost all those who happened to be present could have spoken better than the poets did on the works they themselves had composed. So I understood at once that the poets do not compose their poems because of their wisdom, but by genius and because they are inspired like prophets and givers of oracles, for these utter many fine speeches but know nothing of what they say. It seemed to me that the poets underwent much the same experience. And I saw also that because of their poetry they thought they were the wisest of men in matters of which they were ignorant. (*Apology* 22)

You observe that here Socrates does not treat poetic inspiration with solemnity, but rather that it becomes a cover for ignor-

ance. Moreover, the poets dealt with are Socrates' contemporaries; the dates allow Sophocles and Euripides. I suspect smaller men are at least included.

Socrates here finds in the poets themselves the assumption of knowledge that in the *Ion* is attributed to a mere commentator. At present, both scholar and poet or novelist are prone to exaggerate the learning and wisdom of the writer of fiction. College courses are often founded on the notion that a novelist has a peculiar power to speak on important matters. Tolstoi, for instance, is thought significant on morals and society. So far as he is a wise man, he can speak wisely; by means of his equipment as novelist, he can only speak effectively, on the right or the wrong side as may be. But the demand for something more than the novelist as such has power to offer is continuous among those not informed on the nature of his art. The other day I saw a headline on the literary page of a newspaper: Effective Writing in Novel Fails to Solve Moral Issues. Apart from the question, Can issues, like problems, be solved? the demand for moral guidance from a novelist is improper. Certainly a novelist, if he understands any subject, will incidentally give some instruction as he writes about it. Socrates said that if Ion were a horse-trainer as well as an expositor of Homer, he could tell whether Homer is accurate in writing about horses. More serious is the assumption by novelists that, to adapt Socrates, they are because of their novels wise in matters of which they are ignorant. For example, I read in the *New York Times Magazine* (May 8, 1966, p. 76) that the German novelist Günter Grass "feels that it is time for German writers to take up the task of forging a genuine German consciousness." This indicates that Herr Grass doesn't understand the theory of his art. But in spite of such a failure, he may write interesting novels rather than preachments. The same may be said of the Italian writer Saviane, who announces: "I am now writing a comedy to protest against the unjust laws of bankruptcy, which becomes a disaster for both creditors and honest bankrupts" (*Tempo,* June 9, 1965). The author's reforming zeal may not prevent his writing an amusing comedy;

probabilities are against him. Imitative art is dangerous to the intelligence of the reader who does not understand its true nature, as Socrates said. One of the first dangers is that the reader will take as factual what is only fictitious. Recent reading of a prosaic book on whales leads me to wonder if I have so erred about *Moby Dick*.

Socrates makes no general charge that poets are ignorant; never does he accuse Homer of specific error. He does, however, maintain that Homer is not expert in any of the matters he deals with. For example, he is not an experienced general. Yet Socrates' counterpart, the Athenian tourist of the *Laws*, quotes a passage in which Homer shows military knowledge to be approved, saying that soldiers landed from ships prepared to sail are likely to take refuge on shipboard, rather than standing firm, like well-trained infantry having no easy way of escape. Yet there is reason to assert that the poet or novelist is likely to be mentally alert and well informed. May I relate a cherished instance that I myself have observed?

One of my schoolmates became a physician. When loss of health forced him to abandon practice, how could he support his family? He turned to writing detective stories. With a wise estimate of his own knowledge, he made his chief character a physician. But in detective stories, the law is important. So, living near the city of Buffalo, my friend went to the State Supreme Court Library there to read law for his fictitious cases; once he even questioned the judge. Forced by continued bad health to the North Carolina pine lands, he still wished his stories to be legally accurate. Not having any large law library within reach, he undertook a correspondence course in law. Before completing it, he went to Raleigh, took the state bar examinations—and passed them. He told me he intended to finish the correspondence course, because he really did want to know something about law. You see that he would not have been offended if a modern Socrates had said to him: "My friend, in what important lawsuits have you acted as counsel?" We can admire this doctor-lawyer for having more legal knowledge than any other detective-story writer, but nevertheless his

knowledge was not that of an experienced barrister. Socrates knew the excellence and also the limits of the poet's knowledge.

As I have said, the word *imitation,* putting the poet at some distance from the truth, has offended zealous scholarly champions of poetical transcendence and of the supermundane position of all art. To the poets themselves, as more secure (in our lingo), less offense has been given. They indeed know that they do not perform great deeds; they celebrate the performers. The young Milton asserted that the Athenians made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, and thought that England had her noble achievements made small by the unskillful handling of monks and mechanics. So Socrates asks:

> Do you suppose that if a man could do both things, that is, perform the action that has been imitated and produce an unsubstantial copy of it, he would eagerly devote himself to making such copies, and prefer that activity as the best thing for his own life? (*Republic* 10.598)

Those who make the poet more than an imitator would do well to consider a passage in Wordsworth's preface to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*—not a work dominated by a low view of poetry. Wordsworth writes that the language of the greatest poet

> must often, in liveliness and truth, fall short of that which is uttered by men in real life, under the actual pressure of those passions, certain shadows of which the Poet thus produces, or feels to be produced in himself.
>
> However exalted a notion we would wish to cherish of the character of a Poet, it is obvious that while he describes and imitates passions, his employment is in some degree mechanical, compared with the freedom and power of real and substantial action and suffering. . . . No words which his fancy or imagination can suggest will be to be compared with those which are the emanations of reality and truth.

Wordsworth is not far from Socrates, or from Shakespeare's Theseus when he says: "The best in this kind are but shadows"

(*MND* 5.1.212). We can be sure that Socrates is not an enemy of poetry when he discusses the matter of substance and shadow, in language to be echoed by Shakespeare in comedy and Wordsworth in serious exposition.

We have, then, no statement on poetry that without hesitation we can attribute to Plato. On the subject we do have from his pen a fictitious, indecisive discussion such as he enjoyed writing. More than that we cannot assert, though we can infer that he believed his *Dialogs* likely to profit readers. Socrates deals with topics which—with minor charges—are still agitated. For example, our Nine Old Men in the building near the Library of Congress ponder obscene books, because many Americans believe such books injurious. Have these Nine Men any standards to guide their decision? On the other hand, shall we agree with the champions of obscenity who invoke Art as something sacred? Do we have men calling themselves artists who are quite as incompetent as some of those Socrates encountered? Do we have readers who abuse art as did the Athenians? What of those who read Faulkner to learn about society, or the officer of the Humane Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals who used Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* in teaching the young to be kind to albatrosses? Can anything be done about good taste? Shall we strive to improve the taste shown in our houses, our automobiles, our newspapers, our cities? Are some of our art museums schools of bad taste? A modern Socrates might discuss such matters under the disguise of organizing a Utopian government in word only, not in deed, not to be put into effect, as does the ancient Socrates in the *Republic*.

I regret that the Platonic tradition is such that I have not been able to reaffirm it. Somewhere in the enormous Plato bibliography—which I do not pretend to have covered—I hope my remarks have been more fully anticipated than they are by the historian Grote. I distrust novelty. Yet so far as I have read, no one before myself has been so simple-minded as to strive to treat all Plato's *Dialogs* as though they are dialogs. Still, as Milton's Abdiel remarks,

few sometimes may know
when thousands err.

(*Paradise Lost* 6.148)

According to a saying by Socrates, a scholar is to secure evidence not by following opinion but by dealing with what is real (*Republic* 534 C). One thing which is real, I believe to be the dramatic or poetical quality of Plato's writing, generally disregarded by his expounders. But again to paraphrase Socrates, if any man proves me wrong, I shall set him down as my greatest benefactor.[6]

Notes

1. Jean Van Camp and Paul Canart, *Le Sens du Mot Theios chez Platon* (Louvain, 1956). Gilbert François, *Le Polythéism et L'Emploi des Mots Theios, Daimon dans la Littérature Grecque* (Paris, 1957). See also I. M. Crombie, *An Examination of Plato's Doctrines* (London and New York, 1962), Vol. I, 371: "Plato . . . spoke commonly of gods in the plural, though the singular also turns up more or less at random. . . . Plato himself passes from the singular to the plural apparently haphazardly (*e.g., Laws* 900-905). . . . I shall ask the reader to treat 'God' and 'the gods' as equivalent."

2. Jowett calls this question "a flash of light" (*Dialogues of Plato*; Oxford, 1892, 4.15).

3. For example, in the *Parmenides,* though he heads a section *De Ideis quaedam* (*Omnia Divini Platonis Opera*; Basileae, 1532, p. 62). Modern translators generally use *Idea* or *Form.*

4. *Mind,* XII, 5. *Plato* (London, 1929), p. 351.

5. R. C. Cross and A. D. Woozley, *Plato's Republic* (London and New York, 1964), p. 282.

6. *Gorgias* 506 C. Accordingly, while I now (August 2, 1966) believe I have presented irrefutable arguments, I feel free to alter or abandon that belief.

IV

Lope de Vega's Short Stories: Priesthood and Art of Literary Seduction

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My subject is the short story, the novella. By definition the novella is concerned with farfetched events. It originated as an extended answer to the colloquial question "What's new?"—*Quid nova?* The diminutive new things, the etymological *novella,* were the latest tidbits of gossip, artfully told to astonish the hearer. As the purpose of telling a novella was to arouse in the inquisitive listener a sense of wonderment, of *admiratio,* a high degree of artfulness—that is to say, of artistry—was essential in its narration. When the novella began to be written down, prose inherited the artistic form that had belonged to poetry. In this genre it acquired the cachet of art much sooner than it did in the longer fiction which we call the romance.

Spain was late in developing the novella. While Boccaccio's *Decameron* was composed in the mid-fourteenth century, it was not until 1613 that the author of *Don Quixote* published the first—and, as it turned out, the best—collection of Spanish short stories, his twelve *Exemplary Novellas.* In spite of their title, they are not so much exemplary as artistic. "They have," Cervantes said in his prologue, "some hidden mystery which elevates them." Literary critics have been exercised ever since trying to discover and explain this hidden mystery. And imitators have tried in vain to recapture in their own art Cervantes' secret. One of these imitators was the great poet and dramatist Lope de Vega, who lived from 1562 to 1635. Eight

years after the publication of Cervantes' *Exemplary Novellas* he began his first short story to his mistress in these terms:

I have not refrained from obeying you out of ingratitude, but rather out of a fear that I might not succeed in rendering you this service. Your ordering me to write a novella was a novelty for me, since, though it is true that in my romances *The Arcadia* and *The Wanderer* there is something of this genre and style, practiced by Italians and Frenchmen more than by Spaniards, nevertheless the difference between them is great and the mode of the novella is more humble. In a less sophisticated age than ours, when however men were wiser, novellas were called tales. They were committed to memory and, as far as I can recall, never written down.

But, he goes on, longer fiction, particularly the romance of chivalry, has been cultivated successfully in Spain. Because Spaniards are not loath to attempt new things, they are now turning their hands to novellas. In this artistic innovation, he says somewhat grudgingly:

Miguel de Cervantes did not lack grace and style. I confess that his are books of great entertainment, and they could have been exemplary, like some of Bandello's tragic stories. But they should have been written by men of learning or at least by great courtiers, people trained to find noteworthy *sententiae* or aphorisms in epiphanies.

Lope's reservations about Cervantes' art constitute an almost classic case of the critic's adoption of a wrong methodology. Cervantes left no doubt about his own conception of the novella. "My purpose," he says,

has been to set up in the central square of our commonwealth a billiard table, to which each person may repair in search of entertainment, without harming any third party: I mean, without harming his body or soul, because decent and pleasant sport is beneficial rather than injurious. Indeed, one cannot always be in church; oratories are not always filled with people; one is not always attentive to business, however important it may be. Some hours are properly reserved for recreation, when the weary spirit may rest.

In censuring Cervantes for not doing what he was not trying to do, in demanding sententiousness of the art story, Lope de Vega displays not just his critical ineptitude but his fundamental incapacity for writing such short stories. He concludes his opening words to his mistress by observing that, although he never expected to find himself writing a novella, he is obliged to obey her, and, "having found the plots for a thousand plays," he will plunge right into his first short story. And he proceeds to tell her the incredible tale of *The Fortunes of Diana.*

This story (like the three others Lope would write later) is addressed to "Marcia Leonarda." Marcia Leonarda is one of several fictional names of Doña Marta de Nevares, the latest—and, as it happens, the last—of a series of mistresses in Lope's long life. When I say that they are addressed to her, I do not mean simply that they are dedicated to her. As Lope puts it, the novellas were "*written to* Marcia Leonarda." In practice, this means that he frequently interrupts his narrative to address the lady directly. As his fiction unfolds, he chats with her, jokes with her, cajoles her, educates her, makes love to her.

In a uniquely real sense these stories belong to Marta. To show you what I mean, let me give you two preliminary examples of how Lope makes Marta share in his novellas. At one rather solemn moment—he is describing the pomp of the Grand Turk's palace in Constantinople—he turns to her with a charming yet calculated naïveté to say: "Here, my dear, you turn the page." On another occasion he has just finished describing the dress worn by Laura, a character he has identified from the start with his favorite reader. "You," he says to Marta, "would look lovely in this dress; indeed, if I remember rightly, I saw you in it one day, as carefree as Laura, and no less beautiful than she." In private fiction of this kind the general reader is an outsider, little better than an eavesdropper or a voyeur witnessing intimacies which the lovers should properly have kept concealed in lives hermetically sealed off from intruders. Lest it be thought that prurient modern scholarship has shamelessly exhumed these stories from the private

papers of Marta de Nevares, let me hasten to say that they were published during the course of the affair by none other than Lope himself. The first one, *The Fortunes of Diana,* was incorporated into a volume containing Lope's poem *Philomela* in 1621; the other three—*Mishap through Honor, The Prudent Revenge,* and *Guzman the Valiant*—were printed along with the poem *Circe* in 1624. By publishing these stories, Lope of course makes them public. Implicitly he dares us, even invites us, to penetrate the mysteries of his relationship with Marta.

I have given you so far an inkling of the way in which Lope involves his mistress in his fiction. Let me now, in the only way possible, give you some idea of one of his plots. The summary retelling of a story is not a satisfactory representation of it. But in this case, as you will see, we are not being too unfair to Lope. I have selected the first novella, *The Fortunes of Diana.*

Celio is a poor boy, a great friend of the wealthy Octavio, who lives in the city of Toledo. Both boys are well born. Celio falls in love with Octavio's sister, Diana. He cannot hope to marry her because of the disparity in their economic positions. But he attaches a rope ladder to her balcony, and, with her consent, spends many nights in her room. The lovers determine to elope, after robbing Diana's mother of all her jewels. On the appointed night, at the appointed midnight hour, Diana sees a man approach her balcony, and, under the impression that it is Celio, she gives him the coffer of jewels. The man hurries off with them. Celio, we learn, has been detained in a gaming house with Diana's brother, Octavio. Diana, not knowing this, walks off in the direction of the country expecting Celio to catch up with her. When Octavio returns home in the early morning hours, he finds the front door unlocked. His suspicions aroused, he discovers that Diana has gone, and with her the family honor. Celio, the cause of this misadventure, plays it cool: he commiserates with his friend,

offers to search for Diana, and promises not to return until he has found her.

We see Diana next in a bucolic setting, full of despair over what she takes to be Celio's treacherous abandonment of her. In her shame she cannot go home. Instead—for these novellas, after the style of Menippean satire, are full of poetry—she sings a sad song, and listens to a passing shepherd sing another sad song. This shepherd and his sister take Diana to their cabin, where their father agrees to let her stay.

Celio, meanwhile, remembering that their elopement plan had been to catch a ship to America, imagines that he will find Diana if he goes to the harbor at Seville. Arrived there, he learns that the periodic convoy of ships bound for the New World has already sailed, with—he wrongly assumes—Diana as a passenger. He persuades the captain of a vessel daring to navigate without escort to give him passage to the Indies.

Meanwhile, back at the shepherd's hut, Diana has given birth to a strapping boy, the living image of Celio. Leaving the infant in the care of the shepherds, she dresses as a man and takes her leave. She falls in with the head shepherd of the Duke of Bejar, hoping he will give her a job. Instead, the head shepherd's daughter, Silveria, falls madly in love with her. Diana has great difficulty defending the secret of her sex from this lady's advances. Fortunately, still in male clothing, she wins the affection of the Duke, who, making her his page boy, rescues her from Silveria's clutches.

Back we go to Celio, who has been shipwrecked off the African coast. Sitting around a campfire, the skipper shows him a diamond which he recognizes as Diana's. By a remarkable coincidence it appears that it was the captain who had made off with the coffer of jewels. Celio kills him in a brawl. The members of the crew take him prisoner, patch up the ship, sail to Cartagena in the Indies, and slap him in jail. There Celio is destined to languish until, after the appointment of a new governor of the colony, he can receive a proper trial.

The Duke, all this time, has been in the Spanish capital,

trying—obviously with no success—to persuade Diana to marry one of his maid-servants. In a moment of crisis she engages in swordplay with a young buck, and deals him a decisive blow. The King, who has seen the fight, admires her spirit. Entering the royal service, she is in time appointed governor of Cartagena. In that colony the imprisoned Celio, to his dismay, suddenly finds himself the object of the governor's amorous advances. Diana has him shipped back to Spain, where she obtains a royal pardon for him as a reward for her outstanding services as governor. To the amazement of Celio the generous governor discloses that he is his jilted bride. Somehow—Lope does not explain how—the King is made to understand everything. He sponsors the lovers' long-delayed wedding, which is attended by their son.

To these details I should no doubt have added the complicating fact that, all the while Diana was masquerading as a man, she went under the name of her beloved Celio. It is, then, a wildly involved plot, of which I have given you only the barest outline.

Lope maintains to our surprise that this Milesian tale is a novella, an art story. As a critic, however, I make no claim that his stories are great art. In *The Fortunes of Diana* and his three other novellas Lope is unabashedly doing little more than entertaining his mistress. He is under no illusion, and he leaves her under no illusion, regarding the credibility of his plot. "It seems to me," he says to Marta at one point, "that this account must seem to you more like a pastoral romance than a novella. But I thought that the episode would be no less pleasing to you for that." On another occasion he exposes the artifice of his storytelling by explaining to her the technique of suspense:

No doubt, mistress Leonarda, you'd like to know what happened to our Celio, long since departed for the Indies, and you must be thinking I've lost track of the novella. Well, let me tell you that Heliodorus often does this with Theagenes, and often also with

Chariclea, to increase the hearer's pleasure by holding back from him what he expects.

Lope even admits to exploiting his mistress' ignorance of the rules of narration: "I dare to offer you whatever comes to my pen because I know that, as you have not studied rhetoric, you can't possibly know that long digressions are reprehensible."

These novellas are, then, delightful bedtime stories, the sole aim of which is to give pleasure through the author's conspiratorial intimacy with a very special reader, to create a mood for going to bed. Just as—a shade more innocently—A. A. Milne gives his son Christopher Robin a role in the bedtime stories of Winnie-the-Pooh, so Lope de Vega makes his mistress participate in the bedtime story of *The Fortunes of Diana.* When Celio persuades Diana by means of tears to let him spend the night with her, Lope involves Marta in the fictitious seduction by asking for her opinion: "Tell me, mistress Leonarda: if men can do and say such things, why do they later impugn a lady's modesty? They turn women into wax with their blandishments, and then expect them to be hard as rocks when they are jilted." What surer way is there to a woman's heart than to pose as a feminist? But the active involvement of a particular reader in fiction poses more than just a problem in personal relations.

If Lope's novellas are something less than great art, they at least raise an important esthetic question, one which transcends the parochialism of Hispanic studies. It is largely because they reduce esthetic distance to a hair's breadth, because they transport literature close to the very boundary of life in human time, that Lope's stories forfeit their right to be considered great art. In so doing, they pose in a particularly acute—not to say embarrassing—form the question of how closely an author's work may be enmeshed with his personal experience.

Most theories of literary creation suppose that a writer draws on his life for much of his raw material: persons he knows become characters in his plays or novels; a particular love

affair is transformed into a love poem. But the theories usually envisage a kind of sifting process. It is not just the law of libel, it is some sort of artistic imperative, that dissuades a playwright from making his villain an exact replica of his next-door neighbor. In some of his ballads Lope de Vega chose not to obey this imperative. The courts promptly declared that the poems were libellous, and sentenced him to exile. We still do not regard these slanderous ballads as great poetry; but we do find them to be useful keys for unlocking some of the secrets contained in Lope's other works. Lope wrote so much (probably more than any other man) that his personal life and his writing were inextricable. Writing was the major component of his crowded life. The absence of this esthetic filter in the composition of his novellas, then, may help us to understand better the filtering process to which he subjected his major works.

Lope, we have been saying, failed to draw a sharp distinction between life and literature. His life is often placed at the service of his writing; and his writing is often exploited for experiential ends. The entanglement of his life and letters is such that one cannot read a work of Lope's intelligently without bearing in mind his biography. To live literature, of course, is to court disaster—as Don Quixote discovered to his cost. I have argued elsewhere that it was not so much the excessive reading of books of chivalry as the misreading of them that drove the country gentleman insane. Don Quixote's error consisted in a critical failure to discriminate between history and story, between real life and fiction, between thought and imagination. One of Lope's contemporaries expounded the problem rather well when he wrote:

> The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
> Are of imagination all compact.
> One sees more devils than vast hell can hold,
> That is, the madman; the lover, all as frantic,
> Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt;
> The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,

Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven.
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.

Lope de Vega, the lover and the poet, is not in fact very far removed from Don Quixote, the lover and the lunatic. Each permitted his vivid, abundant imagination to rule his life. For Don Quixote the consequence was an enriched life as a madman. For Lope de Vega the consequence was an enriched life also—accompanied, however, not by madness but by extreme spiritual anguish.

In literary scholarship we have long since outstripped the life-and-works approach of the positivists. Their dreary books suffered from a split personality. The biographical half, unrelated to the half that described the works, served no other purpose than to fill some pages which might otherwise have made demands on the scholar's scant critical ability. The accepted practice in literary scholarship today is to ignore the poet's life so as to concentrate exclusively on his poetry. But an equally fruitful type of criticism, at least in the Hispanic field, uses both biography and literature to focus on the person of the poet—a living, or once living, human being, with his interior concerns only thinly veiled in his acts and his writing. In this kind of criticism, which we may call existential, the object of study is no longer the poem, but the poet. Life and work are indissoluble in the harmonic whole comprised by a peculiarly sensitive artist living in a moment of time. It is in the nature of Lope de Vega's art that it virtually imposes on the scholar this kind of existential criticism. One ignores at one's peril biographical clues to the significance of his works. Perhaps the failure to recognize this fact explains why Lope criticism has been so unsatisfactory, why Lope himself has seemed so refractory to critical scrutiny. Critics have given us valuable and shrewd insights into such diverse writers as Garcilaso, Cervantes, and Calderón, for, although their lives

may illuminate their works, these works may legitimately be considered in and by themselves. Lope's art is part and parcel of the man. Some understanding of the acute spiritual crisis through which the writer was passing is needed before we can apprehend the art of his novellas.

Lope had sown his wild oats. His early life consisted of a sequence of mistresses, wives, infidelities. He believed (and he put it in very nearly these terms) in doing what came naturally. At the same time he was a Christian believer, capable of repentance and even of piety. In his fifties, in the self-scrutiny of middle age, he began to see the need to introduce a more orderly pattern into both his life and his works. To accomplish this reform in both spheres of activity he took a decisive step: on May 24, 1614, at the age of fifty-one, he was ordained a priest in the Roman Catholic Church. That should have done the trick. Thenceforth Lope might have led the placid life of a secular priest, writing religious plays and poetry in the intervals of attending to his devotions. But he reckoned without the old Adam.

Two years after his ordinaton he was madly in love again—with Marta de Nevares. There were two obstacles to their love, both apparently insurmountable: one was Lope's vow of celibacy, and the other was the existence of Marta's husband, a dull businessman called Roque Hernández de Ayala. After they make a futile and in any case pointless effort to obtain a divorce, Fortune suddenly smiles on the lovers. Roque Hernández dies. The vow of celibacy is still a problem; but now, with Fortune on their side, no obstacle seems too great for them to overcome. In his euphoria Lope goes so far as to mock Roque Hernández's memory in the dedication to Marta of his play *The Valencian Widow* (1620). He expresses joyful delight over the death of another human being, for (as he says) death has accomplished what man could not, or dared not, do. "God bless death!" he writes to Marta. "I don't know who could be on bad terms with death, because what human medicine could not alleviate she remedied in five days with a timeless enema and a couple of premature blood-lettings, and

by furnishing a doctor who was more attentive to your liberty than to your husband's life." Such imagery as Lope uses in this dedication merely underscores and exaggerates—it does not elevate into art—his exuberance over the disappearance of a despised and hirsute rival. "Mistress Death," he tells Marta, "in the guise of a Mercedarian friar, got you out of Constantinople and out of the seraglio of a man whose beard began at his eyes and ended at his toes." Death is seen by Lope as one of those friars whose mission it was to ransom Christian captives from the prisons of the infidel; death has rescued Marta from the life of slavery she has known while married to her ugly husband. Lope speaks not as a sensitive poet, not even as a man of taste or a responsible member of society; he speaks as a self-centered jealous lover who is oblivious of his obligation to respect the dead. The dedication is the work of a sacrilegious Don Juan speaking directly to his accomplice in adultery; and yet Lope is so unconcerned about exposure that of his own free will he publishes his side of this revolting dialogue. In Renaissance esthetic terms, the dedication is nature unmodified by art, an overflowing of heart-felt words which have not been reduced to the ordered pattern of artistic expression. Lope's indiscreet dedication is indeed the very antithesis of art. His impious hymn of joy might be compared to an elegy composed not of words but of sobs. The disordered outpouring of first impulses lacks the essential structure of art. Lope's need for a more ordered existence, symbolized and underwritten by his ordination, has been almost immediately obliterated by the prospect of a few more years of lust and liberty.

This penchant for disorder is Lope's greatest weakness as a man and as a poet. It was such a great weakness because it was only late in life that he recognized it. In the play *Fortune's Remedy* he asserts his opposition to art and to the disciplined life in the clearest possible terms:

el hacer versos y amar
naturalmente ha de ser

("writing poetry and making love are things that must be done naturally"). For the first fifty years of his life Lope makes a virtue of spontaneity. From this irrational belief he infers, for his craft, the superiority of a first draft over a polished one, and, for his life, the superiority of an illicit passion over conjugal love.

But, for all his insistence on the claims of nature, he was after all a poet, and therefore an artist. Art gradually imposed its orderliness on his impulsive life and writing. By the 1610's he began to see more virtue in discipline and less in unbridled freedom. But was the former libertine capable now of self-restraint? Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal is right in describing this period of Lope's life as a struggle between his religious vocation and his love for Marta.

> The new priest, wanting to preserve his virtue, strives to subject himself to moral precepts. His struggle was written down in beautiful sonnets . . . ; they are inspired by the Platonic love in which he tries to take refuge when he is in the presence of Amaryllis. . . . [Amaryllis is another of Marta's fictional names.] This love—all soul, withdrawal from the world, ascension to the Creator by means of the beloved creature—weakens at times; although it continues to be virtuous, the senses begin to rebel. The poet, who loves Leonarda-Amaryllis in a celestial way, recognizes that he was born under the sign of Venus. . . . Eventually the poet's Dionysiac nature swamps his ideal love in a final seething of life and passion; all of a sudden we hear, outside his poetry, in intimate letters to the Duke of Sessa, the voice of Lope in defeat: "I am madly in love, if ever in my life I have been, with a woman's body and soul"; "Curses on a love that wants to oppose heaven!"

Lope, then, does for a time tame his spontaneity in the poetic expression of his love for Marta de Nevares. But, as the affair progresses, the lapses are all too frequent. It is these lapses that give an insight into the existential struggle itself. The battle is not, properly speaking, between the man-one-would-be and the man-one-is because the man-one-is subsumes the man-one-would-be. In religious terms one might say that the sinner is the sinner plus his repentant self. The point is,

though, that the sinner is a constant, whereas the self that repents and reforms makes only sporadic appearances. So while one *is* a repentant sinner, one *exists* as a sinner without qualification. It is this sinful, unrepentant Lope who presents himself as the narrator of the short stories.

The question might be raised whether the narrator is in fact fictional or real. In the medieval Spanish *Book of Good Love* as in the twentieth-century stories of Saki or Conrad, the evidence, both literary and biographical, forces us to conclude that the narrative "I" is fictional, even though it may recount some of the author's vital experiences. But the degree to which a narrator may be regarded as fictional ranges over the entire gamut of literary possibilities.

There is no doubt that Lope strikes a pose in his role as narrator of the tales to Marcia Leonarda. It is not so much Lope whom we see telling a story or making a comment to his mistress; it is rather Lope as Lope sees himself in an ideal relationship with Marta. Nevertheless, the fictional narrator in these novellas bears a closer resemblance to the historical figure of the author than is usually the case. We may test this suggestion by looking at the portrayal of Marta de Nevares, first, in Lope's poem called *Eclogue to Amaryllis* and, next, in the short stories. In the eclogue she is placed at an esthetic distance simply by being located geographically in the Indies. Marta, of course, took this trip to America only by courtesy of her lover's poetic imagination. In this imagined *amor de lonh* the poetic "I" recounts his own life in the self-flattering terms made possible by the imagined removal of the beloved's person. The "I" is thus fictional to a high degree. In the novellas, on the other hand, Marcia Leonarda is heard objecting, contradicting, giggling, and laughing: she is in the same fictional room as the narrator. And the narrator usually presents himself as reading his tales to her aloud. While this situation is fictional, it must be a faithful reflection of their existential reality. This conjecture is confirmed by what we know of the history of these two lives; the reality of their relationship consisted of a sexual intimacy overlaid with an intellectual and

artistic companionship. To me this verifiable fact suggests that there is as little fictionalizing as there could be in Lope's representation of himself. For all practical purposes the narrator is the historical Lope de Vega. The authorial commentary, if this surmise is correct, is unusually authoritative.

Wayne C. Booth, in *The Rhetoric of Fiction,* warns us against making this sort of assumption. " 'Narrator,' " he says, "is usually taken to mean the 'I' of a work, but the 'I' is seldom if ever identical with the implied image of the artist." He distinguishes between "narrators or observers who rarely if ever discuss their writing chores" (giving as examples such works as *Huckleberry Finn* and *L'Etranger*) and "self-conscious narrators . . . , aware of themselves as writers" (examples: *A la Recherche du temps perdu* and *The Catcher in the Rye*). Lope clearly belongs to the second category of self-aware writers. He confides to Marcia Leonarda, for example, that he is determined to outdo Cervantes in the short story or that writing novellas is not very different from writing plays. But he differs from Proust or Salinger in that he does not present himself as participating in the fictional events. His role as narrator is confined to commentary on the events and some gratuitous asides to his mistress. He is the detached observer as well as the self-conscious narrator. And so he is exempt from Dean Booth's general principle.

There is a further difference between the novelistic technique of the *Novellas to Marcia Leonarda* and the wide range of fiction examined by Booth: Lope narrates not for a general or "common" reader but for a specific person. The short stories consist, therefore, of a one-directional dialogue: Lope speaks, Marcia Leonarda listens. It is as though we are reading a collection of letters to a single correspondent without benefit of the replies. For students of literature this is a familiar situation. We may read Madame de Sévigné's letters to Madame de Grignan without reading the answering correspondence. The novellas are thus epistolary both in the conventional sense that they contain fictional letters and in the deeper sense that they are communication with a particular person who is denied

the right of immediate comment or contradiction. The works serve to bully or coerce the correspondent, albeit in a perfectly civilized way. The fact that the novellas were published increases their coercive force. If they had been intended for the lady's eyes alone, she might have resisted their blandishments more easily. Marta is being manipulated skilfully by her lover, for she can never reply in the same novelistic form. Her only recourse would be to protest verbally or to write unpublishable letters. This civilized coercion is a form of rhetoric. But when one man, to further his love, employs the power of rhetoric against one woman, we call it seduction. Marcia Leonarda is being seduced through literature. She is, however, the willing victim of her seducer. On the one hand, she has herself ordered the stories written, knowing surely that her lover would take advantage of the situation. On the other, she has been initially seduced before the tales were written. The novellas are a part of a continuing process of re-seduction: they aim at keeping her seduced.

The techniques of seduction in Lope's fiction are of two kinds, direct and indirect. When the author introduces the Grand Sultana of Turkey into *Mishap through Honor,* we remember that he told Marcia Leonarda in the dedication to *The Valencian Widow* that her husband's death has freed her enslavement in the seraglios of Constantinople. Inevitably, in reading the novella, Marta identifies herself with the Christian Sultana and with the events that befall her. This is an example of indirect continuing seduction. But the method is direct when Lope in *The Prudent Revenge* tells her the story of the Greek god Hymen, and comments: "I do not imagine that this digression has pleased you, considering how unappealing you find the Athenians' Sir Hymen!" With this remark he reminds her of the unhappiness of her married life, insinuating that remarriage need cause her no anxiety since her present lover is vowed to celibacy. He slyly induces her to make a virtue of necessity, to accept gladly a relationship that must have distressed her on occasion. Because this is rhetoric, and not a quest for truth, he does not insist on the advantages

that might accrue to her if she could marry her lover.

In a sense, then, the novellas are the equivalent of love letters: they express in writing the love of a man for a woman. The subtle, complex declaration of love is their primary literary function. The many remarks to Marcia Leonarda are not just asides. They are the pillars which support the arches of the narrative. It is these remarks that differentiate Lope's novellas most evidently from those of Cervantes. Though the narrative in Lope is too flimsy and flippant to be taken seriously, it does serve a purpose: it reinforces the rhetoric of the commentary; it provides a sequential order for it; it decides its content. But Lope's great *trouvaille* in the short story was of the effect of subordinating the plot to the authorial interventions—a revolutionary perversion of a genre which was still in its infancy in Spain.

We have said that the stories are the equivalent of love letters. They are also the equivalent of love poems. The only other literature of seduction that comes readily to mind is necessarily the great sonnet cycles—to the Dark Lady, to Cassandre, to Lisi. In Lope's novellas the fiction is subordinated to a lyrical purpose. The indirect love-making may be more garrulous, less concentrated than in poetry. But the means are similar. Lope, whether poet or prose writer, is struggling to express the mystery of sexual love. That is—if we recall his statement that loving and writing verses must be natural—he was struggling to express himself naturally. His novellas could not, as seductive expressions of their author's love, be forced into the mold of an art story, as some of Cervantes' were, for the pre-eminence and artificiality of the plot would inhibit the spontaneity of his lyrical expression. Artistry, the organization of the natural, would not serve his particular amorous purpose. Hence he says that "in this kind of writing there must be a gathering together of everything that comes to the pen, provided it not displease the ears, though it may the precepts." He throws everything into the pot, writing "now of lofty things, now of humble ones, now of episodes and parentheses, now of history, now of fiction, now of reprehen-

sions and examples, now of poetry and classical authorities." This description of his novellas coincides with the esthetics of his theater. Cervantes had a talent for both artistic and natural writing. Lope admits that he has none for the art story. "As each writer has his own particular genius," he tells Marta, "mine must be in something other than this." He continues: "To cheat one's genius is to deny to Nature what it craves." But if Paris is worth a Mass to a Protestant pretender, the beauty and the intelligence and the love of Marta de Nevares make it worthwhile for a poet to cheat his genius, or at least to make a compromise with it, by accepting the impossible challenge of the artistic novella.

Marta de Nevares died less than a month before the publication of Lope's last great work, the *Dorothea* of 1632. This "action in prose," as he calls it, is a literary re-creation of his early love affair with the actress Elena Osorio. The old man of seventy is at last succeeding in putting some order into the disordered loves of his twenties. The work is serious in tone and classical in form. On and off for nearly fifty years Lope has been striving to give literary form to his formless youth. Success now crowns his efforts: the struggle against the old Adam is finally won—through literary composition, not through the sacraments. Leo Spitzer called this triumph *die Literarisierung des Lebens,* "the literarizing of life." From the spontaneous exultation over the death of Roque Hernández, through the calculated use of the literature of seduction in the novellas, Lope has at last learned to disentangle the strands of his life and his writing by the alchemistically difficult process of fusing them in a form wherein separation was impossible. It may be yet another sign of his weakness as an artist, but it is a sign of his greatness as a loving human being, that he held up publication of the *Dorothea* long enough to insert gratuitously into this integral work of art some elegiac barcaroles to Amaryllis *in morte.* When through the magic of literature he finally settled his score with Elena Osorio, her successor Marta de Nevares could not be denied a place in the midst of this hard-won serenity.

V

Musical Compositions in Renaissance Intarsia

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The intensity with which music was cultivated during the Renaissance is evidenced in many ways. The supply of Renaissance compositions that has come down to us creates the illusion of being almost inexhaustible. Moreover, the proportion of these compositions that is of high quality appears to be remarkably large. Superior craftsmanship is almost a commonplace; in probably no other period do we find the human intellect more inclined to choose distinctively musical processes of logic for the expression of intricate thought. But it is not with the weightier aspects of Renaissance music that we shall concern ourselves on this occasion. Having duly reminded ourselves of the seriousness with which the art was regarded, let us move down a little bypath, one that I believe will disclose a prospect of more than ordinary charm. No profound truths will be revealed to us there, however. If the stroll is to have any special significance, it will be only to emphasize that music was so pervasive a part of Renaissance culture that it was likely to appear at any turn, combined perhaps with another art in a manner that one might not expect.

What you are about to hear can hardly be called a lecture. Nor would it be proper to name it a concert. Perhaps, since it comes exactly midway in our series of nine talks, it might be referred to as an *intermezzo*. But it might more accurately be termed a variety show—if we may use the term without the special connotation usually attaching to it in the theatre—a show presented on a quite modest scale, but drawing for its

components upon pictures, tunes, and comment. We shall see illustrated in the text* examples of Renaissance intarsia that are related to music. Instruments will figure in them prominently, as they do in quite a large number of other examples of wooden inlay of the period. But the examples selected for present purposes have been chosen less because they show instruments than because they reproduce musical compositions in the wood, note for note.[1] Four of these compositions will be performed for you.

Before we enter into a discussion of our main subject, it may not be amiss to digress a moment to point out that, in the visual arts of the Renaissance, the reproduction of complete musical compositions—or, at any rate, of complete voice-parts—was of rather frequent occurrence. The anonymous Flemish painting, into which the superius and tenor of Walter Frye's *Ave Regina cœlorum* are painted in their entirety, has been reproduced in André Pirro's *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle a la fin du XVI^e,*[2] Heinrich Besseler's *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,*[3] and, more recently, Sylvia Kenney's *Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise,*[4] and is as a result quite well known. About 1504 a *lauda* was painted into a large altarpiece by Lo Spagna[5] that is now in the gallery at Perugia. At about the same time Carpaccio painted two compositions into his "St. Augustine Visited by St. Jerome."[6] The painting of about 1530 by the Netherlander known to us as the Master of the Half-Lengths that shows three young women making music—one of them having before her the superius of Claudin de Sermisy's *Jouissance vous donneray* completely painted into the canvas—has been brought to particularly wide notice, thanks to its reproduction in Curt Sachs's *Our Musical Heritage*[7] and, more recently, in *The History of Music in Sound,* booklet 4.[8] The double canon, *Sancta Maria,* by Benedictus Appenzeller, was embroidered in 1548 into a tablecloth offered to Mary of Hungary.[9] In the latter part of the sixteenth century, the visual arts entered upon a new development in the representing of pieces of music. In 1584, a

*In the lecture these illustrations were projected upon a screen.

group of copper engravers, following the lead of the Netherlander, Johannes Sadeler, began engraving copperplate reproductions of pre-existent art works, among these being many that incorporated within them whole musical compositions. The musicians whose works appear in such copperplate reproductions include Andries Pevernage, Corneille Verdonck, and Roland de Lassus.[10] In other words, the reproductions of music in intarsia, which are our special concern today, fit into a general tendency to include faithful copies of musical compositions in pictorial representations of one kind or another.

Returning from our digression, let us prepare to enter the ducal palace at Urbino, built for Federigo da Montefeltro between 1465 and 1482, probably by the Dalmatian architect who is known under the Italian name Luciano di Laurana. Here is the magnificent and well-known portrait of Federigo by Piero della Francesca.* The Duke, in several respects an ideal Italian Renaissance prince, was a great connoisseur of the arts, besides being a warrior and a statesman. At Urbino he assembled the greatest library of the period, having as many as thirty or forty scribes in his employ at a time, because he preferred manuscripts to printed books. In the Duke's study at Urbino there is elaborate intarsia work by Baccio Pontelli, and one of the panels is of special interest to us (Plate 1). This represents a cabinet with an open door, the door itself being depicted in wooden inlay as a *trompe l'œil* effect. Within the cabinet are various objects. Prominently displayed we find the insignia of the Order of the Garter. The badge of this Order had been presented to Duke Federigo in 1474 by Edward IV of England. Uppermost within the cabinet, both in its physical position and in its importance to us for present purposes, is an open volume of music. Examination shows this to be a manuscript choir-book—that is, a manuscript in which the various voice-parts are written one after the other rather than in

*At this point a slide of the portrait was shown. This very well-known portrait is reproduced (among other places) in Mario Salmi, *Grandi Maestri del '400* (Florence, 1955), Plate XXII, and Filippo Rossi, *The Uffizi, Florence* (New York, 1957), colorplate VII.

score or in separate part-books. The superius is given in the first four staves on the left-hand page; the tenor, in the first three staves on the right-hand page. The contratenor begins in the last staff of page one and is completed in the last two staves of page two. The composition is one of the most celebrated chansons of the second half of the fifteenth century, the anonymous *J'ay pris amours.*[11] All of the music is given—though not the repetitions—and a part of the text. There are several sources for this work. The superius and tenor are combined in two manuscript sources with the same contratenor as is shown in the intarsia, in eight other sources with a different contratenor.[12] A manuscript at Trent combines the superius and tenor with still a third contratenor.[13]

The manuscripts that contain the combination incorporated into the intarsia at Urbino are the fifteenth-century Laborde Chansonnier, now at the Library of Congress,[14] and a chansonnier, mostly at Seville, that is of special interest since it once formed part of the library of Ferdinand Columbus, the son of Christopher.[15] The superius or the tenor of the chanson was reworked many times into substantially new compositions. One of these pays the basic chanson the tribute of burlesquing it, thus providing additional proof of its popularity, the opening words, *J'ay pris amours en ma devise* being inelegantly travestied into *J'ay pris ung pou en ma chemise.*[16] Actually we find in our intarsia three sister arts mingled, for it was not only the music that was famous, but also the text. The poem appears independently in literary sources and may be found in the modern edition of the fifteenth-century poetic chansonnier once owned by the Cardinal de Rohan[17] and also in the facsimile edition of Antoine Vérard's print of about 1501, the *Jardin de Plaisance.*[18] The poem is a *rondeau quatrain.* This means that the poem opens with four lines of verse that are destined to serve as a refrain. These are followed by two lines having the same rhyme scheme as the opening pair of the refrain; then the opening pair itself returns. After that there are four new lines of verse having the same rhyme scheme

as the four lines of the refrain. Finally, there is a repetition of the refrain in its complete form.

The structure of the poem is reflected in the music. There are four musical periods, corresponding to the four lines of the refrain text. Let us say that the first two periods jointly constitute "section *a*" and that the last two periods jointly constitute "section *b*." These sections will be repeated to correspond with the rhyme scheme of the text. Let us also capitalize the letters *a* and *b* when they represent the two musical sections combined with refrain text, but use small letters to represent the musical sections combined with fresh text. The total form, then, will consist of the scheme *ABaAabAB*. Because of the space limitations imposed by intarsia work, it is obvious that musical forms that involve repetition in one way or another are particularly suitable subjects for representation in the medium. Naturally, the repetitions are not unnecessarily worked out in the wooden inlay; the artist may indicate them in some manner or rely upon the foreknowledge or the musical understanding of the beholder. Here is a translation of the text of *J'ay pris amours*:

I've decked my shield with love's device
To make a captive out of joy;
Content I'll on that summit rest,
Should fortune crown my enterprise.

If any cry me down for this,
His pardon he may have from me.

I've decked my shield with love's device
To make a captive out of joy.

I think such censure is the way
Of him who fails; he's been rebuffed
And is by none in honor held.
It is not right that I should prompt him.

I've decked my shield with love's device
To make a captive out of joy;
Content I'll on that summit rest,
Should fortune crown my enterprise.

Plates

PLATE I. Intarsia by Baccio Pontelli in the study of Frederigo da Montefeltro at the Ducal Palace at Urbino, including, at the left, the anonymous three-part chanson, *J'ay pris amours* (printed in Example 1).

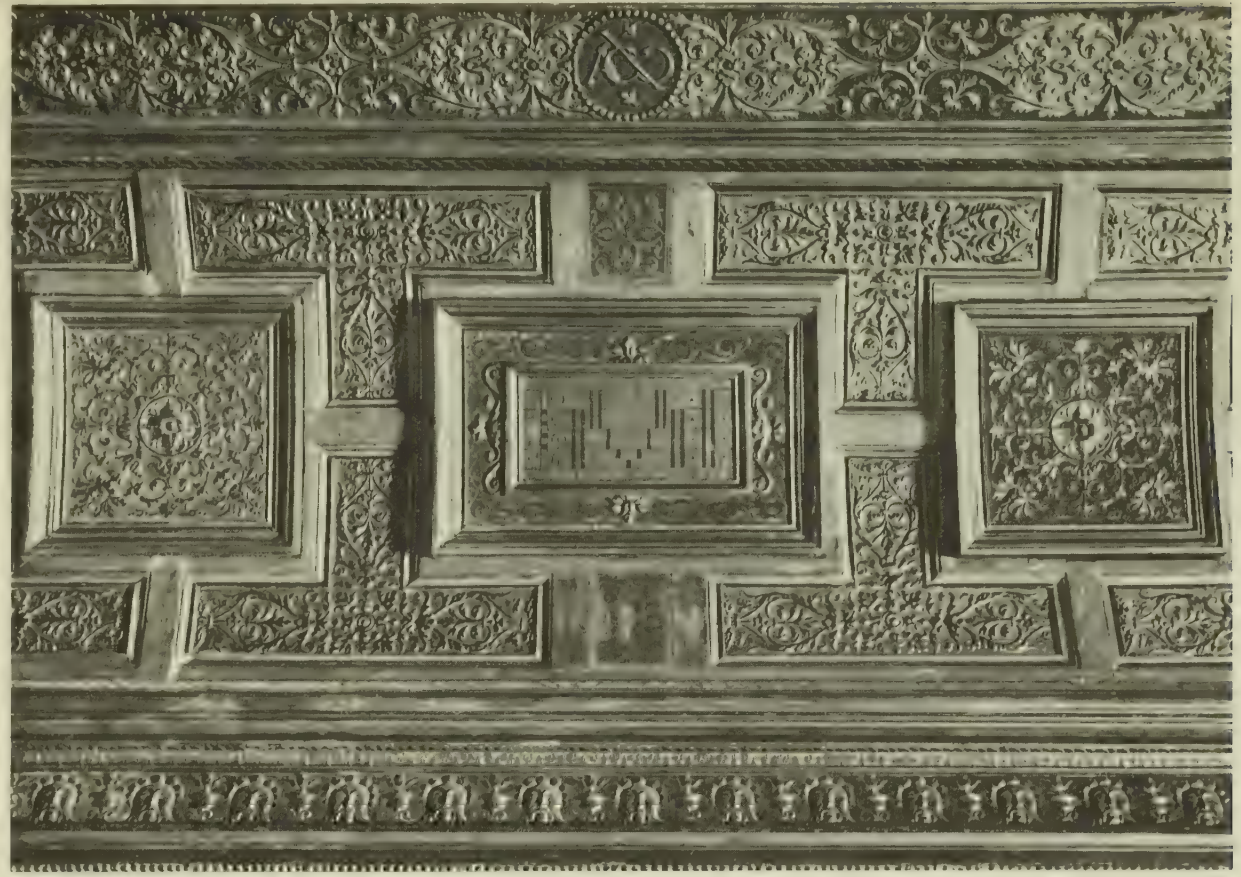


PLATE II. Detail of 15th-century decoration in a ceiling in the Ducal Palace at Mantua, showing design made out of musical symbols.

PLATE III. Corner of the study of Isabella d'Este in the Ducal Palace at Mantua, showing four intarsia panels by Antonio and Paolo della Mola (15th century).

PLATE IV. Detail showing the third panel included in Plate III. The canon melody of Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi vostre exemple amoureux* (printed in Example 3) appears at the bottom.

PLATE V. Panels of intarsia from the Chapel of the Château de la Bastie d'Urfé, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

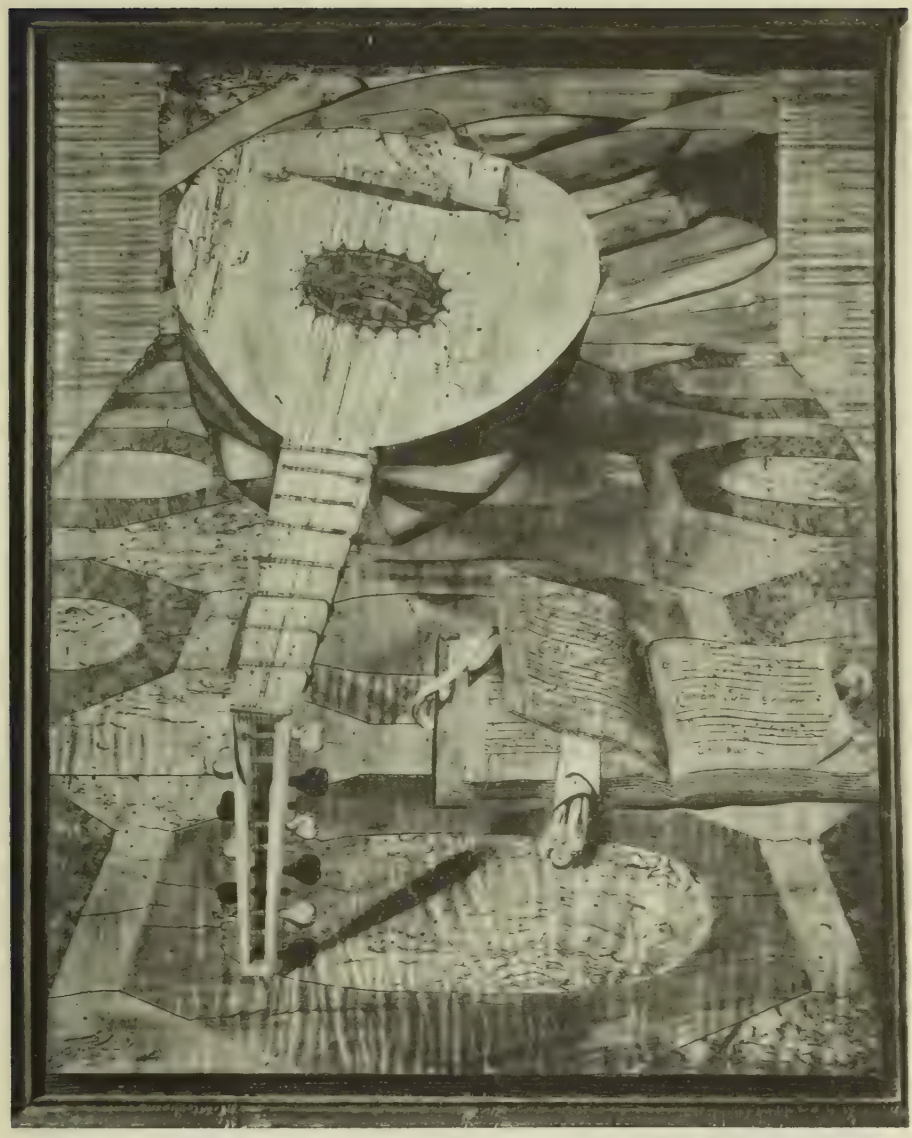


PLATE VI. Detail showing one of the panels included in Plate V. A canon melody is carved into each of the fully shown pages of the open book. Both canons are resolved in Example 4.

PLATE VII. Intarsia by Fra Giovanni da Verona in the choir stalls of the Church of Monte Oliveto Maggiore at Siena. Carved into the scroll is the music of Example 5.

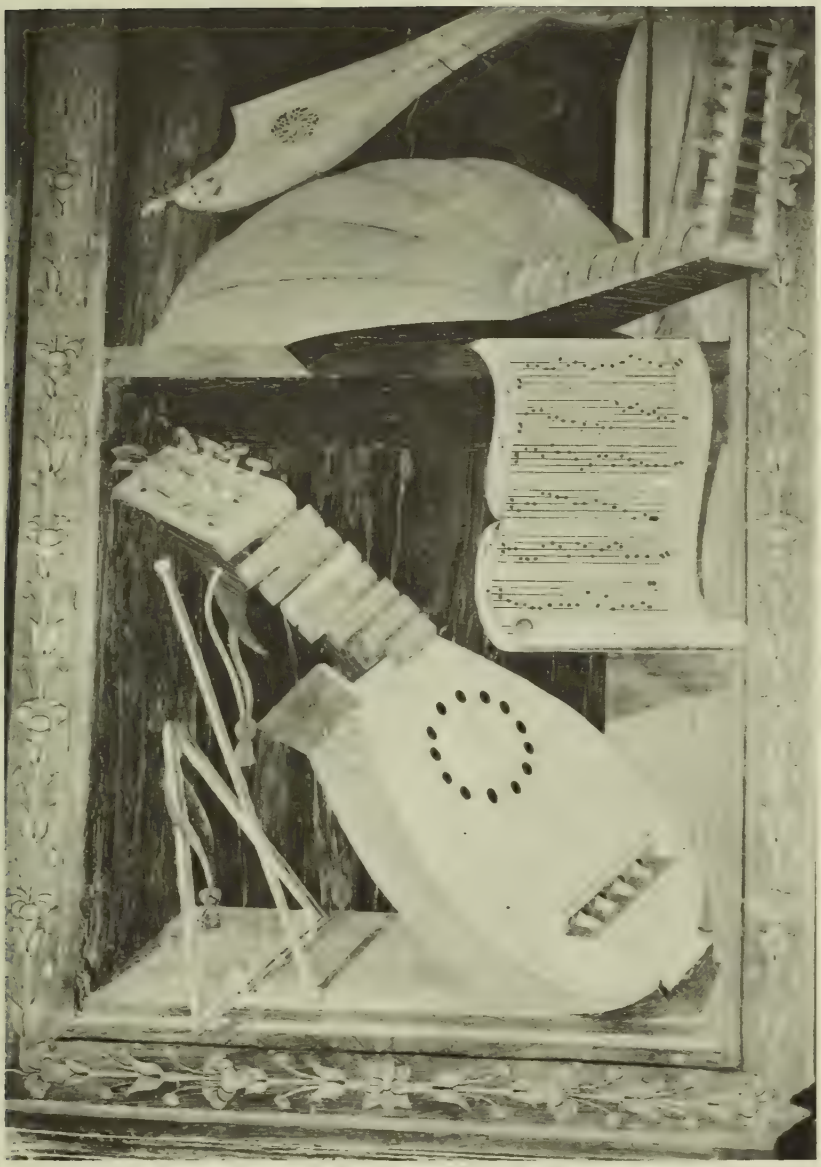
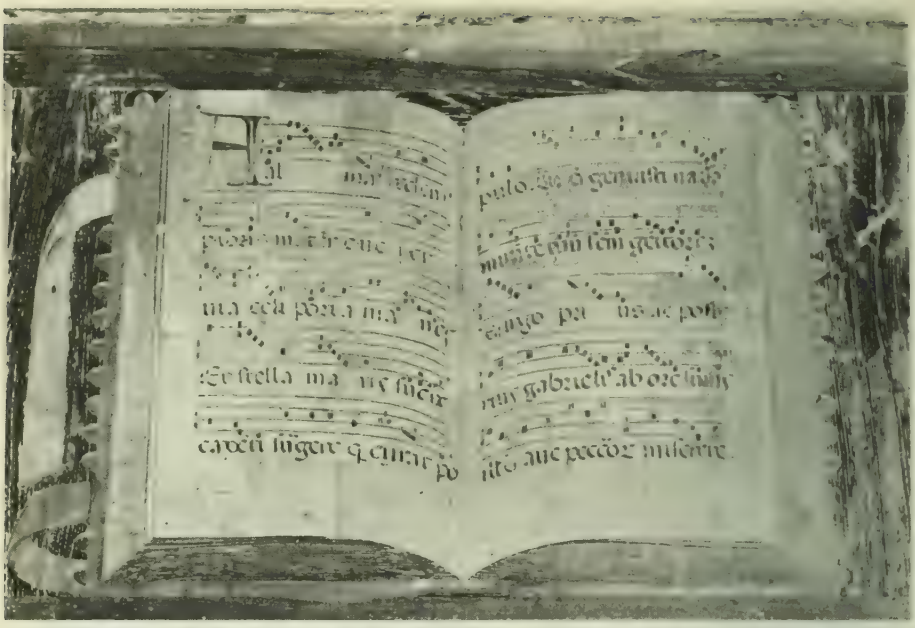


PLATE VIII. Intarsia on the obverse of the back of a choir stall at Santa Maria in Organo, Verona, including what is apparently an artist's "impressionistic" depiction of a musical composition.



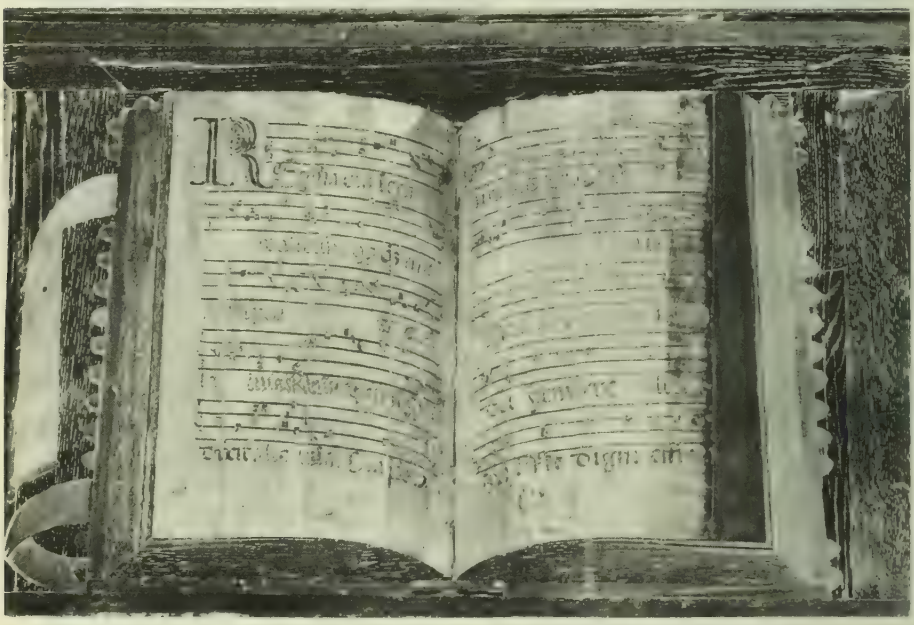
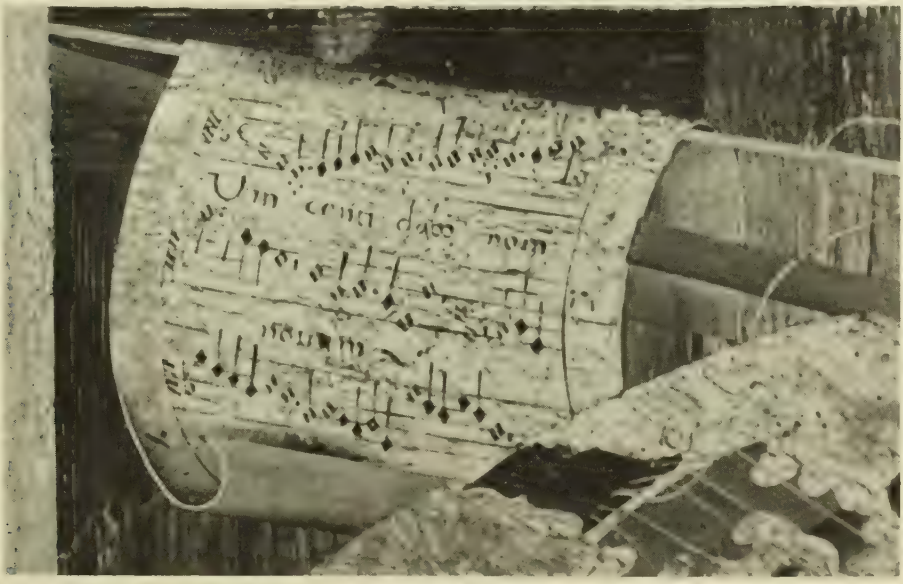
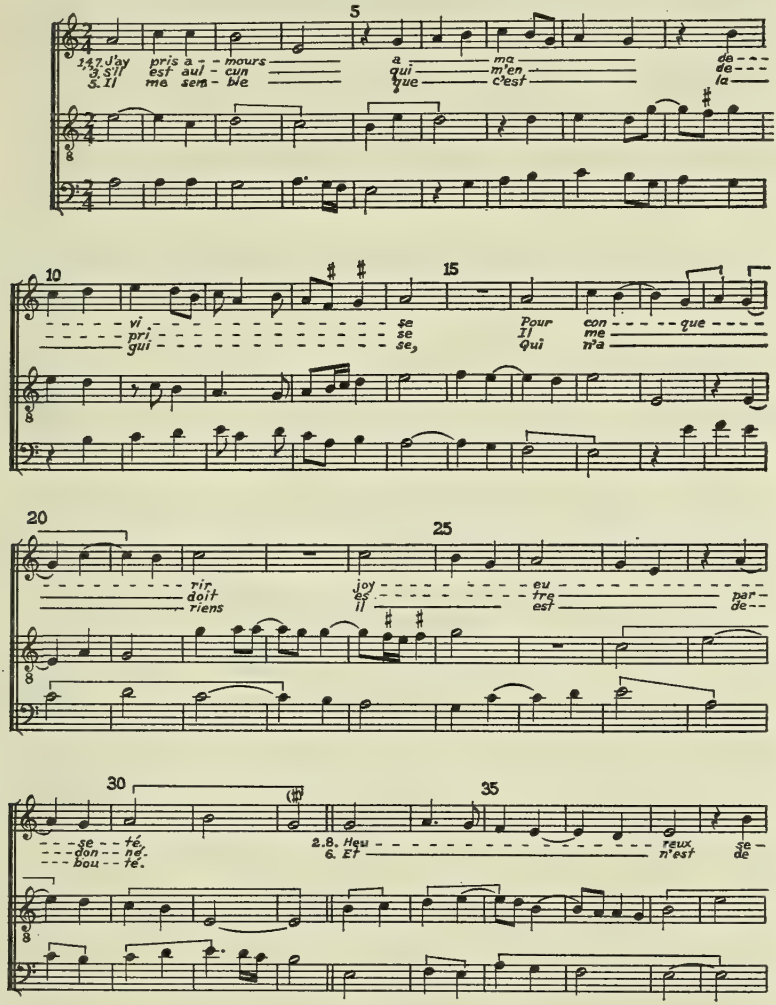


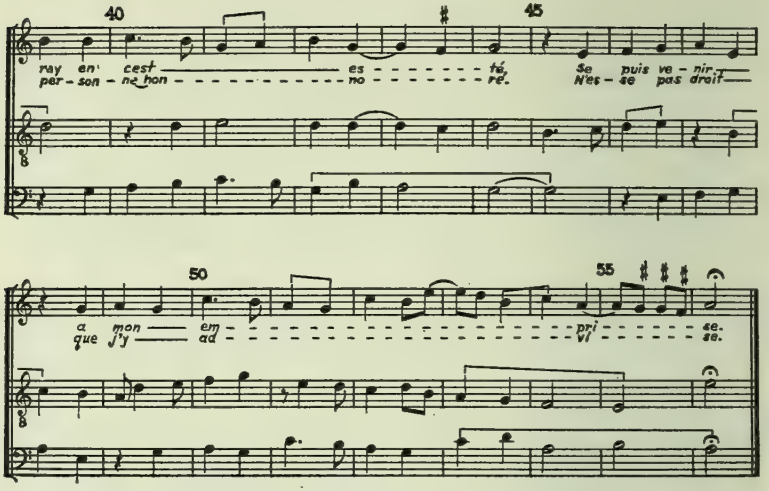
PLATE IX. Intarsia on one side of the desk of a lectern at Santa Maria in Organo, showing the chant, *Alma Redemptoris Mater,* in Gregorian notation. PLATE X. Intarsia on the other side of the lectern represented in Plate IX, showing the chant, *Regina cæli,* in Gregorian notation.

PLATE XI. Intarsia by Fra Vincenzo da Verona from the church of San Benedetto Novello in Padua, now at the Louvre, showing a group of astrological objects at the top and a group of musical objects at the bottom. PLATE XII. Detail of Plate XI, showing the canon melody of Example 7.

Acknowledgments

For courteous permission to reproduce photographs of Renaissance intarsia we are indebted (Plates II-IV) to Fratelli Alinari, Florence; to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Plates V and VI), from the gift of the children of Mrs. Payne Whitney; and to Eugénie Droz and the Librairie Droz, Geneva, for Plate IV, detail, reproduced from *Trois chansonniers français*, ed. Eugénie Droz, Geneviève Thibault, and Yvonne Rokseth.

Example 1.[19] Anonymous: *J'ay pris amours.**


5
1.2.7. J'ay pris a - - mours a ma de - - -
3. S'il est aul - cun qui m'en de - - -
5. Il me sem - ble que c'est la
10
vi - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - se
pri - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - se
gui - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - se,
15
Pour con - - - - - que - - - -
Il me
Qui m'a
20
rir
doit
riens
25
joy - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - eu
es - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - tre par - -
il est de - -
30
se - - té,
don - - né.
bou - - té.
35
2.8. Heu - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - reux
6. Et n'est se - de

*The piece was performed. Mrs. Barbara Rowan was the singer; Dr. Cornelius Lansing played the recorder, and Mrs. Margaret Lansing played the viola da gamba.

The subject towns of Urbino included Gubbio, where Duke Federigo had been born, and here he had another study built, conceived along the same lines as the one at Urbino, but with quite different details. It may well have been designed by Francesco di Giorgio of Siena and have been executed under the supervision of the same Baccio Pontelli whose handiwork we have encountered at Urbino, though questions have been raised on both these points. This study from the palace at Gubbio was transferred bodily to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1941, and a profusely illustrated article on it by Dr. Emanuel Winternitz was printed soon thereafter.[20] As at Urbino, the intarsia represents cabinets with open doors, and the contents of the cabinets include musical instruments. No reproductions of actual music are at present to be seen, but in an article on the Gubbio study, published by Preston Remington in 1941,[21] the author reported that, not many years previously, the pages of one of the books that are represented in wooden inlay were inscribed with the music of a song entitled *O rosa bella.* Remington then quoted the well-known poem by Leonardo Giustiniani that received a musical setting at the hands of Johannes Ciconia and a still more famous one

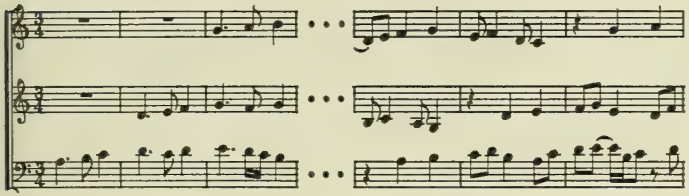
that is attributed to John Dunstable.[22] What happened to the music of the inlay, we are not told. Nor is it clearly stated that the setting represented was not Ciconia's but rather the one ascribed to Dunstable, though this seems to be implied; it is also more likely, in view of the latter setting's greater popularity.

Moving now from the vicinity of Urbino to Mantua, we enter the ducal palace of the Gonzagas. This building was the scene of much historically important music-making, and it is suitable that a decoration in one of the concave mouldings that fill the angles between wall and ceiling should be made of a clef, of the four standard time signatures of medieval and Renaissance music, of various rests, and of a repetition sign (Plate II). But our interest is centered primarily in intarsia, and if we enter the study of the celebrated Isabella d'Este in the same palace we shall find a magnificent example of it. Isabella, the highly intelligent marchioness of Mantua, daughter of Hercules I of Ferrara, niece of Beatrice of Aragon, and music student of Johannes Martini, was, of course, like her father and her aunt, one of the great Italian Renaissance patrons of the arts. The *"magnanima Isabella"* referred to by Ariosto in Canto 13 of his *Orlando Furioso,* the subject of portraits by both Titian and Leonardo da Vinci, she became, through her support of such frottolists as Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Marco Cara, one of the great forces in the revival of Italian music at the turn into the sixteenth century. Inside her study there were once eight panels of intarsia, six of which still remain. Grouped in one corner of the room are the four splendid panels shown in Plate III. These panels were executed in 1505 by the brothers Antonio and Paolo della Mola, some of whose other works may be found in the sacristy of St. Mark's at Venice. At the extreme right a cabinet of musical instruments is depicted with a *trompe l'œil* door. The panel next to it proves even more interesting when observed in greater detail (Plate IV). What appears in the oblong panel at the bottom is one voice of Johannes Ockeghem's very famous three-part canon, *Prenez sur moi vostre exemple amou-*

reux. This piece was so highly regarded for the technical skill it displays that it was incorporated by Heinrich Glarean as a musical illustration into his great treatise, the *Dodecachordon* (published in 1547), though without the poetic text. Ockeghem, one of the supreme masters of the latter part of the fifteenth century, was chaplain and composer to three successive kings of France—Charles VII, Louis XI, and Charles VIII. He is at his best in his elaborate and imposing Masses, but a little piece like this canon is impressive too by virtue of its expert workmanship.

Each new voice follows its predecessor at the upper fourth. Obviously, it was enough to carve only one voice-part into the wood, since the other two have the same melody transposed upward, the voices entering at one-measure intervals. This composition has an additional technical feature, which we shall not discuss in detail. I shall only say that it is an example of the *catholicon,* which means that it may be performed in any one of several different modes. It will shortly be presented to you in the Mixolydian mode. It should be mentioned also that the poem, in its complete form, is a *rondeau cinquain*. Since you have already heard a *rondeau* and have seen how there should be a point somewhere near the middle from which returns can be made to the beginning, you may wonder how Ockeghem made such returns possible in a canonic piece. Did he wind up the canon temporarily with a cadence at the end of the *a* section and start afresh in canon at the beginning of the *b* section, in order to facilitate returns from the end of *a* to its beginning? Or did he move on from the first section to the second, in unbroken canon; and, if so, how did he provide for a return from the end of *a* to its beginning in spite of continuous canonic overlapping? Actually, he maintained the canonic flow without a break, and he solved his problem very neatly and simply—at least, if my conjecture on the subject is correct. (I do not know of any source in which the proposed solution is expressly indicated.) Let us, in our next example, which has two subdivisions, observe measures 1-3 of the piece

and also measures 19-21, these last three being the ones in which the end of *a* overlaps the beginning of *b*. (The *b* section opens, in each voice, after the quarter rest.)

Example 2. Ockeghem: Measures 1-3 and 19-21 of
Prenez sur moi vostre example amoureux.

As you will see, if the bottom voice is made to rest in measure 19 and is given, in measure 20, the three notes of the very beginning, these notes will fit contrapuntally against the top part—which is here singing the last measure of section *a*. We need not fear that the middle part will not fit the two outer ones, since, to carry out the canon, this middle voice will rest throughout measure 20 just as the bottom voice had rested throughout measure 19. All that the performers need to do after measure 20 is to continue with measure 2 of the opening, and the repetition is smoothly under way. And now I shall offer you a somewhat free English paraphrase of the text.

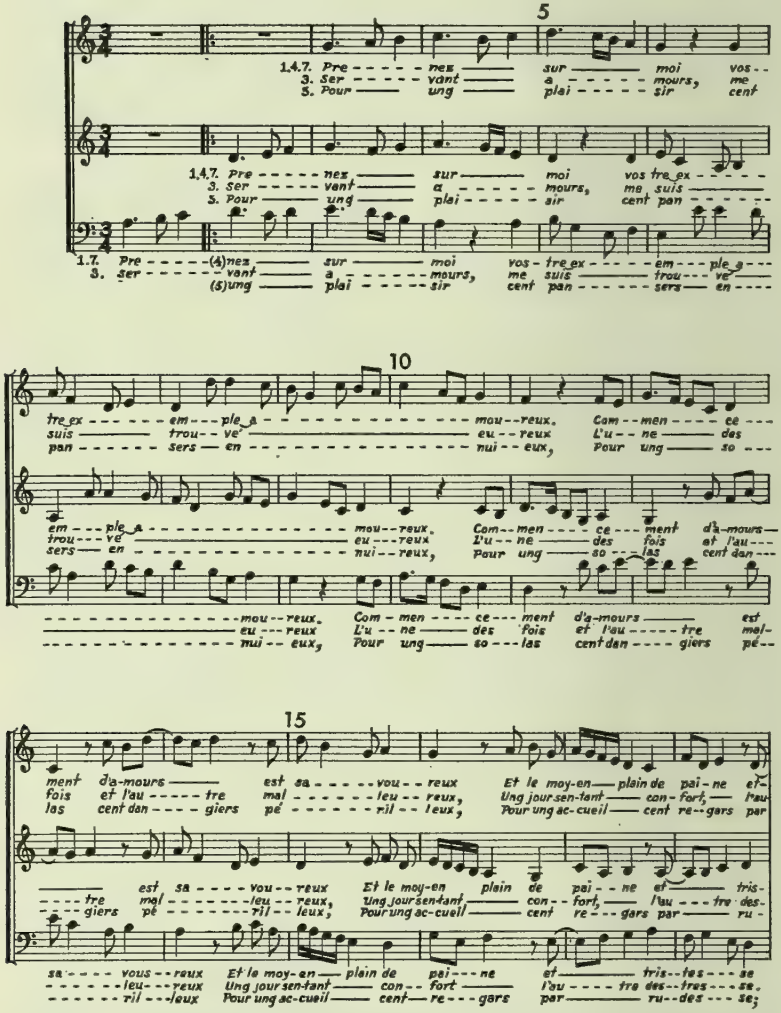
See drawn in me the true design of love;
The early stage of love is savoury,
The mid one full of agony and sorrow,
The last one is to win a dainty mistress,
But at the conquest danger strews the path.

In serving love, I find myself content
A moment long and then again dismayed;
One day my lot is peace, another day distress.

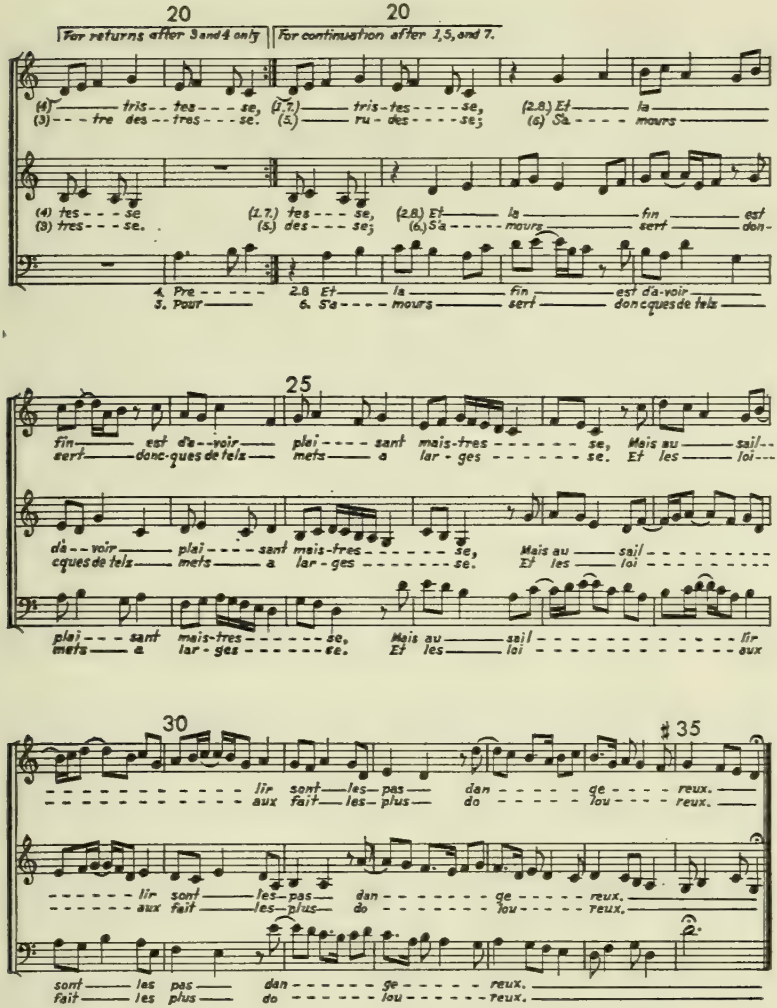
See drawn in me the true design of love;
The early stage of love is savoury,
The mid one full of agony and sorrow.

(Translation continued on pp. 85-86)

Example 3. Ockeghem:
Prenez sur moi vostre exemple amoureux
(with proposed adjustment between sections *a* and *b*).*


5
1,4,7. Pre - - - - - nez sur moi vos - tre ex - - - - - em - - - ple a - - -
3. Ser - - - - - vant a - - - - - mours, me suis trou - - - ve
5. Pour ung plai - - - - - sir cent pan - - - - - sers en - - - -
10
tre ex - - - - - em - - - ple a - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - mou - - reux. Com - - men - - - - ce - - -
suis trou - - ve eu - - reux L'u - - ne des
pan - - - - - - sers - en nui - - eux, Pour ung so - - -
em - - - ple a - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - mou - - reux. Com - - men - - - - ce - - - ment d'a - mours
trou - - ve eu - - - reux L'u - - ne des fois et l'au - - -
sers en nui - - reux, Pour ung so - - - las cent dan - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - mou - - reux. Com - men - - - - ce - - - ment d'a - mours est
eu - - - reux L'u - - ne des fois et l'au - - - - - tre mal -
nui - - eux, Pour ung so - - - las cent dan - - - - giers pé - -
15
ment d'a - mours est sa - - - - - vou - - reux Et le moy - en - plain de pai - ne et -
fois et l'au - - - - - tre mal - - - - - - - leu - - reux, Ung jour sen - tant - con - fort, - l'au -
las cent dan - - - - giers pé - - - - - - - ril - - leux, Pour ung ac - cueil - cent re - - gars par
est sa - - - - vou - - reux Et le moy - en plain de pai - - ne et - tris -
- - - tre mal - - - - - - - leu - - reux, Ung jour sen - tant - con - - fort, - l'au - - - tre des -
- - - giers pé - - - - - - - ril - - leux, Pour ung ac - cueil - cent re - - - gars par - ru -
sa - - - - vous - - reux Et le moy - en - plain de pai - - - ne et - tris - - tes - - - se
- - - - - - leu - - - reux Ung jour sen - tant - con - - fort - l'au - - - - tre des - - tres - - - se,
- - - - - - ril - - - leux Pour ung ac - cueil - cent - re - - - gars par - ru - des - - - se;

*The canon was sung by Mrs. Rowan, Mrs. Louise Basbas, and Mrs. Anne Heider.



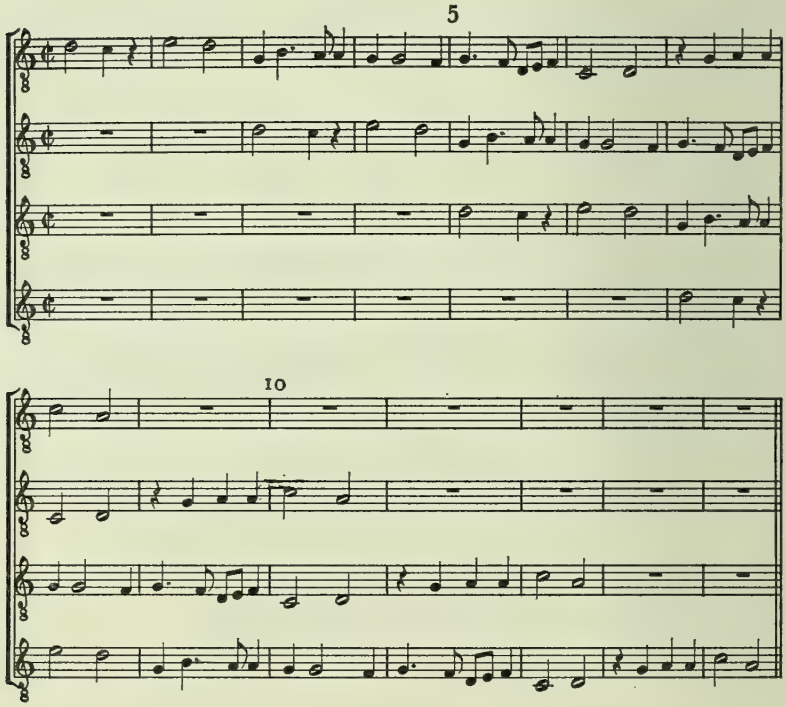
For one delight a hundred troubled thoughts,
For one reward a hundred dire perils,
For one soft word a hundred haughty glances;
Thus with an open hand love serves its fare
And makes the loyal the most sorrowful.

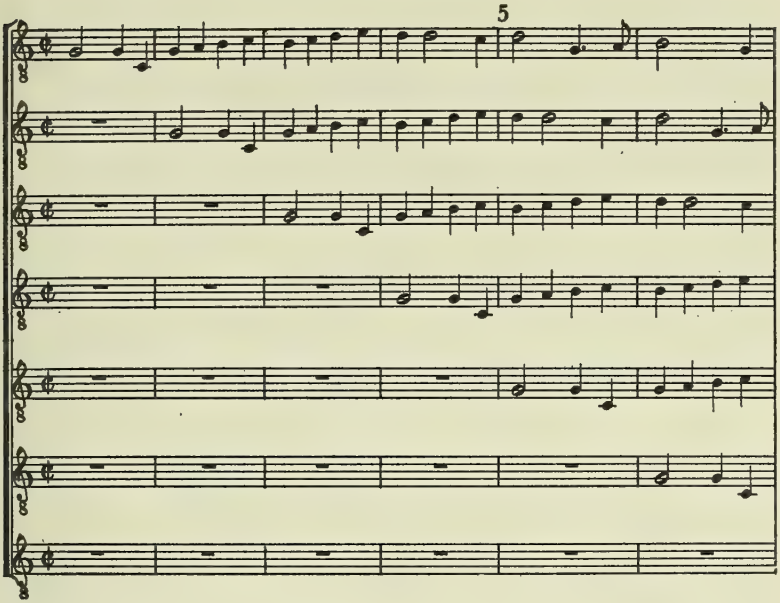
See drawn in me the true design of love;
The early stage of love is savoury,
The mid one full of agony and sorrow,
The last one is to win a dainty mistress,
But at the conquest danger strews the path.

Canons obviously provided especially suitable material for presentation in intarsia, since only one voice had to be carved. At the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York there is some intarsia from the Chapel of the Château de la Bastie d'Urfé, situated in the Department of the Loire (Plate V).[23] This, the most recent example that we shall be considering, dates from between 1545 and 1550. The panel in which we are primarily interested, the one at the upper right, appears to

(Continued on p. 88)

Example 4 *a* and *b*. Textless canons *a 4* and *a 7*.

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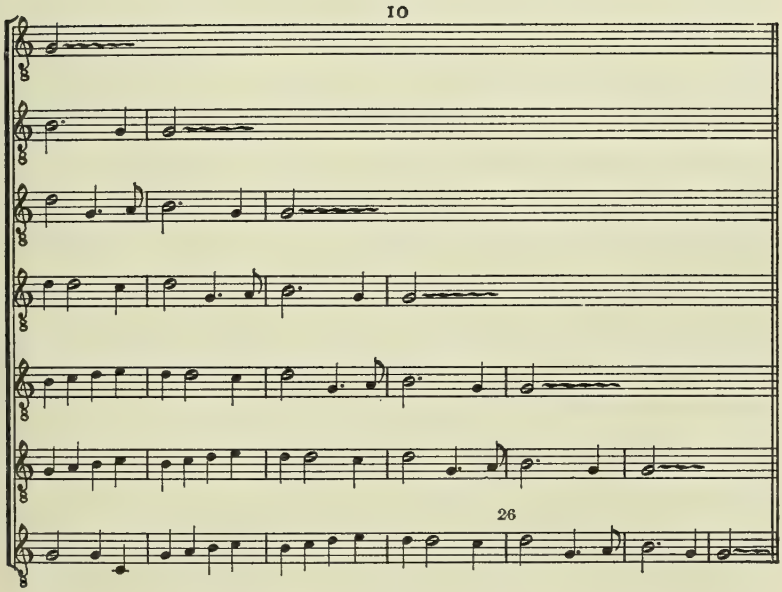
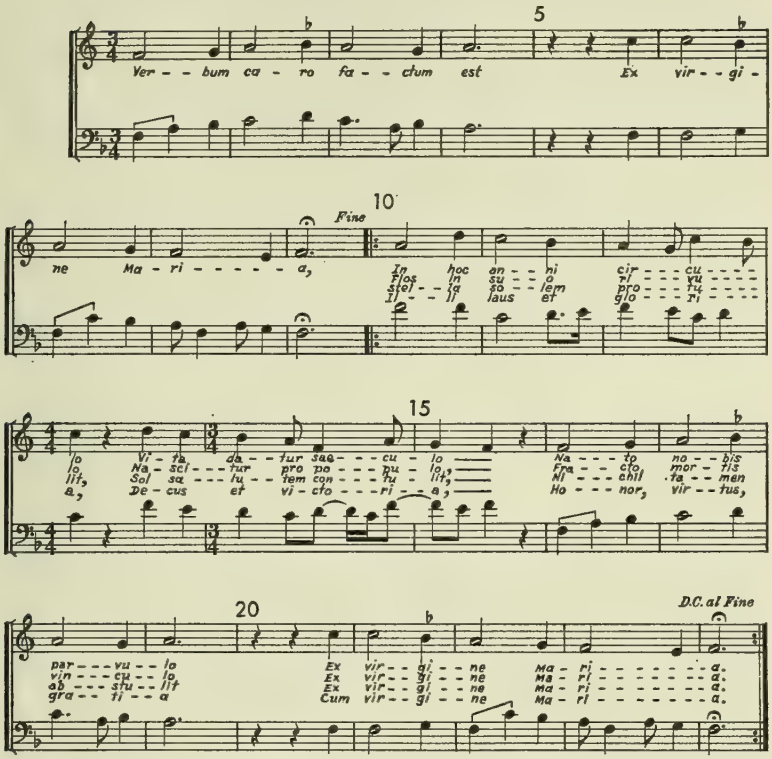

10
26

be the work of Damiano da Bergamo.[24] When we examine this panel in greater detail (Plate VI) we note that the book at the right of the lute contains music. Moreover, we find that the *intarsiatore* has indicated that the music on the left-hand page is a four-part canon (*canon cum quatuor vocibus*) while that on the right-hand page is a seven-part canon (*canon cum septem vocibus*). Experiment shows that both canons are to be worked out at the unison. The solutions appear on pp. 86-87.[25]

Going backward now, chronologically, we shall journey to Siena and enter the Church of Monte Oliveto Maggiore. Here we find a very beautiful panel, again with *trompe l'œil* effects in the treatment of the doors (Plate VII). This is the work of Fra Giovanni da Verona, who was born about 1457 and died in 1525, and is the best-known artist represented in our examples. Besides the four instruments—a cittern (= gittern, cetra, etc.), a lute, and two recorders—Fra Giovanni presents a sheet of music. On it there is a two-part composition, the two upper staves giving the superius, the two lower ones giving the tenor. The melody of the superius appears in several other early settings, including an anonymous three-part piece in MS Panciatichi 27 at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence,[27] and was obviously popular. In the intarsia no text is given, but the melody appears elsewhere with the words of *Verbum caro factum est*—not the text of the antiphon for the Feast of the Holy Family, but that of a Christmas hymn which dates probably from the twelfth century and comes down to us in many sources, gradually accumulating no less than twenty-nine stanzas. We shall present only four of these.

The piece opens with a two-line refrain, which should be repeated after every stanza. However, we shall repeat it only at the end, since the setting of every stanza proper closes with the refrain music. Moreover, even if the words for the first phrase of this music are new when it recurs for each stanza, the words for the second phrase are the same as the final ones of the refrain. Even with our omissions, then, you will hear quite enough of the refrain material. Although the music is in only two parts and is in the main rather simple, the anony-

Example 5. Anonymous: *Verbum caro factum est.*

5
Ver - - bum ca - ro fa - - ctum est Ex vir - - gi -
10
Fine
ne Ma - ri - - - - - a,
In hoc en - - hi cir - - - cu - - - -
Flos in su - - o vi - - - vu - - - -
stel - - la so - - lem pro - - - tu - - - -
Il - - lu laus et glo - - - ri - - - -
15
Jo Vi - ta da - - tur sae - - - cu - lo Na - - - to no - - bis
Jo Na - sci - - - tur pro po - - - pu - lo, Cru - - cfo mor - - tis
Sol sa - - - lu - - tem cqn - - - fu - - lit, Ni - - - chil ·ta - - men
a, De - cus et vi - cto - - - ri - - a, Ho - - nor, vir - - tus,
20
D.C. al Fine
par - - - vu - - lo Ex vir - - gi - - ne Ma - ri - - - - - - - a.
vin - - - cu - - lo Ex vir - - gi - - ne Ma - ri - - - - - - - a.
ab - - - stu - - lit Ex vir - - gi - - ne Ma - ri - - - - - - - a.
gra - - ti - - a Cum vir - - gi - - ne Ma - ri - - - - - - - a.

mous composer has contrived to inject interest into the piece by varying the prevailing $\frac{3}{4}$ meter, about half-way through, with a measure of $\frac{4}{4}$ and with the single measures before and after that one, which give at least a hint of $\frac{6}{8}$. Here is a free translation (adapted in part from that of John Mason Neale) of as much of the text as will be sung:

Now the Word becometh Flesh
By her, the Virgin Mary.

In the ending of the year
Light and life to man appear:
And the Holy Babe is here
By her, the Virgin Mary.

In its rill a flow'r this morn
For all men on earth is born,
And the chain of death is torn
By her, the Virgin Mary.

'Twas the Star the Sun that bore,
Which Salvation should restore;
But pollution ne'er the more
Did touch the Virgin Mary.

Glory to the new-born King,
To His triumph tribute bring,
To Him praise and honor sing,
And to the Virgin Mary.*

The same artist, Giovanni da Verona, is responsible for intarsia at the Church of Santa Maria in Organo at Verona. I am able to show you a slide reproducing a panel at Verona that resembles the one at Siena which we have just seen. As you will note, there is obviously a piece of music in this panel also. But the picture I have acquired is too unclear to permit close examination. An attempt to obtain another photograph from Verona has not yet succeeded. This is true also with respect to the lectern at Santa Maria in Organo, which, as you may observe on the next slide, seems likewise to be decorated with music worked out in wooden inlay.

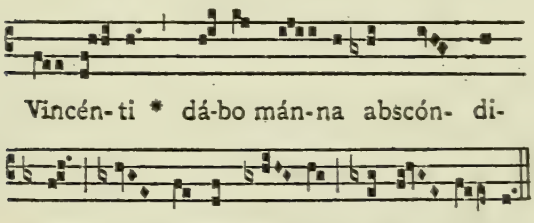
Since the above paragraph was read in 1966, the author has visited Verona and has seen the examples at the Church of Santa Maria in Organo just mentioned. There are two series of intarsia at this church, the better known being a quite magnificent *spalliera* by Giovanni da Verona in the sacristy. The ten panels of this *spalliera* are without special musical interest. In the choir, however, another series provides panels that decorate the obverse of the backs of the choir stalls.[28] The series includes some representations of musical instruments. One panel presents what, at first glance, looks like a genuine piece of music shown in choir-book format (the format described on p. 76). But if one tries to transcribe the music

*Mrs. Heider sang the upper part, and Dr. Lansing played the lower one.

into modern notation, one finds that the voice-parts do not fit. Indeed, they make no sense, and the music can only be regarded as an artist's "impressionistic" depiction of a musical composition. (The text also makes no sense.) The panel is shown in Plate VIII. (The instruments are a rebec, a lute, a triangle, and a cittern.) The series of panels in the choir is supposedly by Fra Giovanni and assistants. In view of the complete ability shown by Fra Giovanni elsewhere to represent music accurately in intarsia, it is perhaps reasonable to attribute this panel to an assistant. The lectern at Santa Maria in Organo, however, does show genuine music in intarsia—and beautifully. The desk of the lectern is in pentagonal form and can be spun about, so that either side may be in front. On one side is shown the *Alma Redemptoris Mater* and on the other, the *Regina cæli*, both in their plainsong versions. They are given in normal Gregorian notation (Plates IX and X).

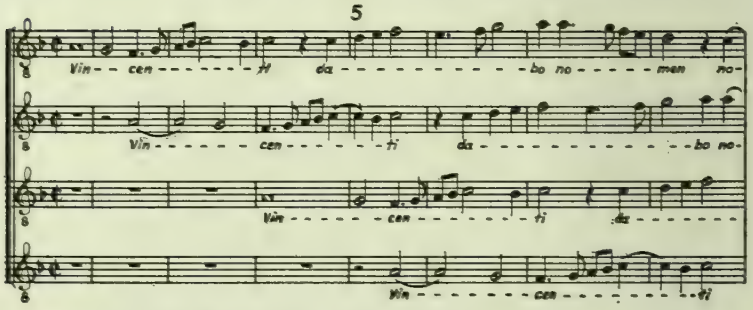
Our last example is by Fra Vincenzo da Verona, also known as Fra Vincenzo dalle Vacche (Plate XI). In 1523 he completed some work in the sacristy of St. Mark's at Venice that had been begun by the brothers Antonio and Paolo della Mola, whose handiwork in Isabella d'Este's study we saw just a little while ago. The panel before us, which comes from the Church of San Benedetto Novello in Padua, is now in the Louvre. The lower section, as you can observe, contains representations not only of a *lira da braccio*[29] and a lute, but of a piece of music, and this will presently be shown to you in greater detail. First,

Example 6. Gregorian Chant:
Vincenti dabo manna absconditum.

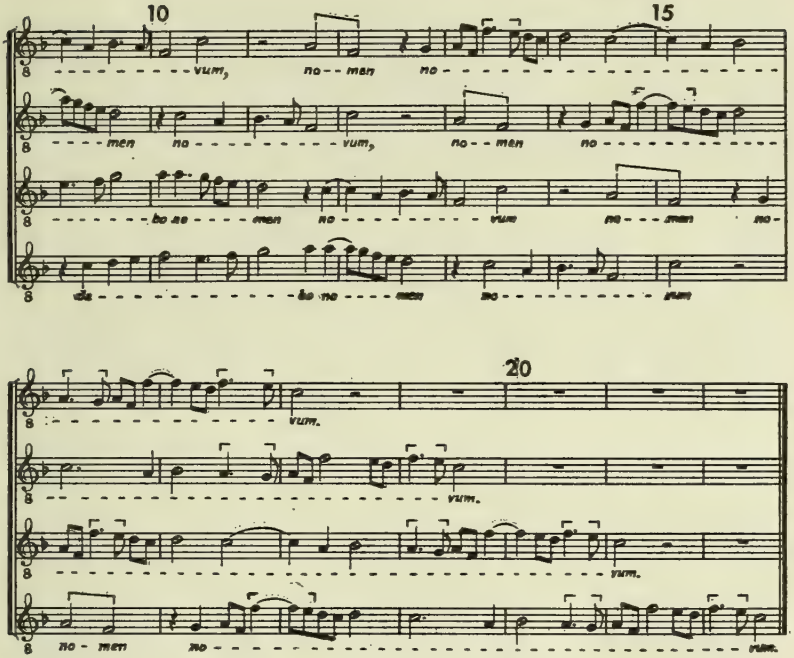


however, I should like to show you the plainsong for the fifth Antiphon for Lauds on Corpus Christi. (See Example 6 on p. 91.) The text, in translation, reads: "To him that overcometh will I give the hidden manna, and a new name, alleluia."[30] [Here the melody was sung by the speaker.] Now you will see another slide, showing in greater detail the music in Fra Vincenzo's panel (Plate XII). Even a hasty glance shows that this music, while it does not incorporate the plainsong literally, is nevertheless derived from it. As for the text, it is reduced to *Vincenti dabo nomen novum.* Is this to be understood as "To him that overcometh will I give a new name"? This is possible, to be sure, but I think that Fra Vincenzo is having a bit of fun here, that he made the musical adaptation as well as the intarsia, that the intarsia itself is supposed to be doing the singing, and that the words "new name" allude to his role as a composer; in other words, that the text is intended to mean "To Vincenzo I will give a new name," *Vincenti* being turned into a pun. The music proves to be another canon. Fra Vincenzo has provided three *signa congruentiae* to show where each voice other than the first one is to enter, so that we know the piece is intended as a four-part canon. Experiment shows it to be a canon at the

Example 7. Anonymous (Fra Vincenzo da Verona?): *Vincenti dabo nomen novum.**



*Mrs. Basbas and Mrs. Heider sang, and Dr. and Mrs. Lansing played recorders.



unison. Ockeghem's canon had a coda at the close, enabling all the voices to end together. As in at least the first canon from the Château de la Bastie d'Urfé,[31] no similar coda is intended here, so that the voices drop out one by one.

The upper part of the panel reproduced in Plate XII, though without musical significance, is of more than passing interest. Shown are a celestial globe, a quadrant, and an open book. Near the top of the left-hand page of the volume appears the word *Matheseos.* Spread across the two facing pages are the words, *Liber Tertius,* and at the bottom of the left-hand page one finds: *Itaque Mundi genituram.* These are the first three words of the *Liber Tertius* (after the *Proœmium* of that *Liber*) in the *Matheseos Libri VIII* ("Eight Books of Astrology"), a textbook on astrology written *ca.* 325 A.D. (under Constantine) by Firmicus Maternus. The right-hand page presents an illustration of the *Thema Mundi,* or horoscope of the world

(described by Firmicus Maternus), and shows the planets in the signs where they allegedly were at the birth of the world.*

I said earlier that this lecture would have no particular, weighty significance, that it would merely emphasize that music was so pervasive a part of Renaissance culture that it was likely to appear at any turn in a manner that one might not expect. And this, if only in a very small way, I hope has been done.

In conclusion, I should like to thank our performers for their expert collaboration.

*I am greatly indebted to Professor Larissa Warren of the Classics Department of New York University and Professor William Stahl of the Classics Department of Brooklyn College for all the essential information regarding the representation of the book.

Notes

1. Concerning instruments in intarsia, see Emanuel Winternitz, "Quattrocento-Intarsien als Quellen der Instrumentengeschichte," *Bericht über den Siebenten Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Köln, 1958* (Kassel, 1959), pp. 300-302. Dr. Winternitz's recent *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (New York, 1967) contains reproductions of several intarsia panels representing instruments, the originals of which are at the Vatican, etc. (A few of our examples are printed by him also, for the sake of the instruments.)

2. *Op. cit.* (Paris, 1940), opposite p. 80.

3. *Op. cit.* (Wildpark-Potsdam, 1931-35), opposite p. 200.

4. *Op. cit.* (New Haven and London, 1964), frontispiece.

5. Cf. Edward J. Dent, "The Laudi Spirituali in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries," *Proceedings of the Musical Association,* XLIII (1917), 66-67, where the *lauda* is reprinted.

6. Reproduced in color in François Lesure, *Musik und Gesellschaft im Bild* (Kassel, 1966), Plate 6. A detail, showing the music, is printed in *Istituzioni e Monumenti dell'Arte musicale italiana,* II (Milan, 1931), opposite p. xxxiv. For transcriptions into modern notation, with discussion of the pieces, see Edward E. Lowinsky, "Epilogue: The Music in 'St. Jerome's Study,'" *The Art Bulletin,* XLI (1959), 298-301. The subject of this rather well-known painting is not, as was formerly thought, "St. Jerome in his Oratory"; see Helen I. Roberts, "St. Augustine in 'St. Jerome's Study': Carpaccio's Painting and its Legendary Source," *The Art Bulletin,* XLI (1959), 283-97.

7. *Op. cit.* (New York, 1948), Plate XIII. It had previously appeared in Paul Bergmans, *La Typographie musicale en Belgique au XVI^e siècle* (Brussels, 1930), p. 15. For a discussion of three versions of the picture, see John A. Parkinson, "A Chanson by Claudin de Sermisy," *Music & Letters,* XXXIX (1958), 118-22.

8. *Op. cit.* (London, 1953; New York, 1954), frontispiece.

9. A photograph appears in Edmond van der Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle,* 8 volumes (Brussels, 1867-88), VII, opposite 420.

10. For details, together with reproductions of the pictures and modern scores of the music, see Max Seiffert, "Bildzeugnisse des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* I (1919), 49-67 (including thirteen pictures); "Niederländische Bildmotetten," 2 volumes, edited by Max Seiffert, in *Organum, Erste Reihe,* Nos. 19-20 (containing ten pictures, with the ten motets that are depicted in them printed in modern score).

11. The intarsia was reproduced by B. Ligi in Plate VII of "La Cappella Musicale del Duomo d'Urbino," *Note d'Archivio,* II (1925), 1-369, but the reading of the text incipit is incorrect and the composition is said to be a hymn "in honore della Duchessa." The piece is correctly identified by Dragan Plamenac in Part II, pp. 116-17, of his study cited in note 15.

12. These are the first eight listed below the series of dashes at the bottom of p. 139 of Helen Hewitt (editor), *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942). Modern editions appear in Eugénie Droz, Genèvieve Thibault, and Yvonne Rokseth (editors), *Trois chansonniers français du XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1927), pp. 3-4; *Werken van Jakob Obrecht,* 30 instalments (edited by Johannes Wolf [Leipzig, Amsterdam, 1908-21]), *Wereldlijke Werken,* pp. 94-96.

13. This version is printed and discussed in Benvenuto Disertori, "Il Manoscritto 1947-4 di Trento e la Canzone 'J'ay prins amours,'" *Rivista musicale italiana*, XLVIII (1946), 1-29.

14. Described in Helen Bush, "The Laborde Chansonnier," *Papers of the American Musicological Society for 1940* (Richmond, Va., 1946), pp. 56-79.

15. Described in Dragan Plamenac, "A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville," *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVII (1951), 501-42; XXXVIII (1952), 85-117, 245-77. Reconstructed, with the detached pages that are now bound into Paris, Bibl. Nat., n. a. fr. 4379, inserted in their proper places, in *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Sevilla 5-I-43 & Paris n. a. fr. 4379 (Pt. 1)*, with an introduction by Dragan Plamenac (Brooklyn, 1962).

16. In Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XIX, 176, fol. 12v-13r. The piece is anonymous.

17. *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan (XV. Jahrh.)*, edited by Martin Löpelmann (Publications of the Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, XLIV [Göttingen, 1923]), p. 301.

18. Facsimile edition of the Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1910), fol. 71v.

19. In the examples printed with this paper, the time-values have been divided so far as their *written form* is concerned, to produce modern equivalents with regard to *duration*.

20. "Quattrocento Science in the Gubbio Study," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (October 1942), pp. 104-16.

21. "The Private Study of Federigo da Montefeltro, a Masterpiece of XV Century Trompe-l'Oeil," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (January 1941; Section 2), pp. 3-13.

22. Of the various editions of each that are available, reference is made to those in Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liégeois de son temps (Vers 1335-1411)* II (*Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts, Mémoires, Collection in-4to, Deuxième Série, Tome X, Fascicule* 1b [Brussels, 1960]), 75-77; *John Dunstable: Complete Works*, edited by Manfred Bukofzer (*Musica Britannica*, VIII [London, 1953]), pp. 133-34.

23. For a monograph on the Château (which, however, does not contain information regarding the intarsia in question), see Georges Soultrait, *Le Château de la Bastie d'Urfé et ses seigneurs* (St. Etienne, 1886).

24. Cf. E. Winternitz, "Quattrocento-Intarsien . . ." (see note 1), pp. 301-2.

25. These solutions were not presented when this paper was read at Duke University. They are based upon a study of the photograph reproduced in Plate VI, the original intarsia being temporarily unavailable for examination, and may be subject to correction in some minor details.

26. The artist indicates, by means of a *custos*, that the melody for the *canon a 7* (unlike the one for the *canon a 4*) continues on to a second page. It is probably to be assumed, therefore, that the interval of a fourth at this point, between the bass and the upper voices shown in our example, would be made contrapuntally correct by a descent of one of the three missing voices to E or C.

27. Identified by Professor Dragan Plamenac, to whom I am indebted for the information. Concerning other settings, see Knud Jeppesen, *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude um 1500* (Leipzig and Copenhagen, 1935), p. xx; Manfred Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York, 1950), p. 149; Sylvia Kenney, "In Praise of the Lauda," *Aspects of Medieval*

and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese (edited by Jan LaRue *et al.* [New York, 1966]), pp. 494-95.

28. The booklet by Pio Vesentini, *La Chiesa di S. Maria in Organo* (Verona, 1954), provides information about the first series, but virtually nothing about the second.

29. A quick look at the *lira da braccio* might lead one to believe that it is broken and that it may therefore have some special symbolic meaning. Careful examination, however, shows that it is whole. Dr. Emanuel Winternitz has kindly informed me that the uneven effect is the result of attempted restoration.

30. Cf. Apocalypse (Revelation), 2:17.

31. As stated earlier, the second one is not given in its entirety.

VI

Life in a Doomed City: Constantinople Before Its Capture by the Turks

Sir Steven Runciman

On May 29, 1453, the great city of Constantinople fell to the Turks; and the whole Western world of the time was astounded and shocked. To us today, with the hindsight of five centuries, it seems, rather, remarkable that the city should not have fallen sooner. For more than seventy years it had formed an enclave in Turkish territory. Exactly seventy years had passed since the Emperor at Constantinople had been obliged to recognize the Ottoman Sultan as his overlord. The Byzantine Empire had in fact never really recovered from the disaster of the Latin conquest of the city in 1204. Its economy had been declining ever since the loss of central Asia Minor to the Seljuk Turks in the late eleventh century and since the growth of Italian commercial rivalry. But in 1204 its unity was broken, its organization dislocated, and its economic life ruined. The Emperors in exile at Nicaea made a superb effort to restore Byzantium; and in 1261 Michael VIII Palaeologus recaptured the great capital. But the restored Empire was no longer the supreme power in the Christian East. It was one state among many, and not the strongest. It had to sustain the hostility of the vengeful West until the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers relieved the tension. Then it had to combat the political imperialism of the vigorous Serbian monarchs of the fourteenth century and the economic imperialism of Venice and Genoa. Its European preoccupations so distracted it that it did not notice till too late that the real danger came, as it had come so

often to Byzantium, from the East. It ignored till too late the Ottoman Turks.

The group of Turkish tribesmen gathered together by the chieftain Ertoghrul and his son Osman—or Othman, after whom the group was to be named,—had been insignificant at first; but it was well placed for expansion, as its territory lay along the Christian frontier. None of the other Asiatic Turkish principalities found itself next to infidel provinces. Only the Ottoman tribes could combine warfare with religious duty. Only they could extend the boundaries of Islam. Only their leaders could be *ghazis*, conquerors for the Faith. The Turks were eager Muslims; and they were still pouring into Asia Minor from Turkestan and the East. It was far more attractive for these immigrants to make their way along the peninsula to an area where expansion was not only possible but meritorious than to stay in eastern or central Anatolia and join in the petty rivalry of princelings who could only expand at each other's expense. Moreover, Osman's dynasty produced for several generations a series of rulers of exceptional ability, with a special gift for military organization. With ample man-power on which to draw, they turned the Turkish army into the most efficient and up-to-date force of its time. The crack regiments were attached to the person of the Sultan and were under his close supervision. They were mainly composed of Janissaries, boys who had been forcibly taken from Christian homes and brought up as Muslims, trained to regard the regiment as their family and the Sultan as their father. But there were also territorially organized regiments. In Asia Minor there were numerous villages where land was held from the state in return for military service; and the greater landowners were obliged to provide a fixed number of soldiers whenever required. As the Turkish Empire spread into Thrace in the middle of the fourteenth century, Turkish villages and landed estates were introduced, till by the end of the century Turks far outnumbered Christians there; and as the Empire expanded further into the Balkan peninsula more and more Turkish colonies were planted in Christian territory.

The efficacy of the Ottoman army had shown itself in battles against the Byzantines, who now, for lack of man-power, depended mainly on mercenaries, against the gallant and courageous Slavs of the Balkans, and against the Hungarians and the cream of medieval chivalry that followed them as allies. It was equally efficacious against fellow-Turks: with one terrible exception when in 1402 Sultan Bayezit I, deluded by arrogance and guilty of tactical errors, was defeated and captured by the great Turco-Tartar conqueror Timur (or Tamerlane). But that disaster only briefly interrupted the growth of the Ottoman Empire. Twenty years later it was as powerful as ever before.

It is arguable that Timur's victory over Bayezit at Ankara in the long run helped rather than hindered Ottoman expansion. Later historians have blamed the Christians for failing to unite to use this heaven-sent opportunity for crushing the Ottomans forever. They forget how many Turks were already settled in Europe; and in recent years Timur's raids had led to many more Turks from eastern Asia Minor crossing over to seek refuge in Thrace. It would not have been easy to turn them out. The Byzantine Emperor Manuel II managed by intriguing with the quarrelling sons of the captive Bayezit to win back a few cities for the Empire; but unaided he could do no more. The Venetians and the Genoese would not unite; and both were making money by ferrying Turkish refugees across into Europe. Other Western powers had been alarmed by the rapid advance of the Turks into Europe and by the disastrous end to the counter-attack organized by the King of Hungary—the so-called Crusade of Nicopolis. But now Ottoman power had shown itself not to be invincible. There was no need to worry. Constantinople might be an enclave in the Sultan's territory. But it was a great fortified city whose walls impressed every visitor. The Sultan had been vainly attempting to besiege them at the time of Timur's invasion and had had to raise the siege. A second siege in 1422 was to be no more successful. Constantinople would surely survive.

Even in Italy, with its close connections with the Levant,

there was a refusal to realize the danger. The merchant-cities of Genoa and Venice should have known better. Both were heavily committed in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Black Sea. The rich Venetian colony in Constantinople itself and the rich Genoese colony of Pera, just across the Golden Horn, depended on the survival of Christian Constantinople. If they were lost it was good-bye to the Venetian and Genoese colonies round the Black Sea. But neither the Genoese nor the Venetians wished to take the threat seriously. Both of them had problems in Italy from which they could not afford to be distracted. They had no desire to offend the Turks as they were trying to increase their trade with Turkish-held ports. They were too jealous of each other ever to co-operate; each feared to take any action lest the rivals should gain from it. It was only in Rome, as the fifteenth century advanced, that there was any true understanding of the Turkish menace. At the Papal court there were visitors and refugees from Constantinople who were aware of the situation and were able to impress upon their hosts that something must be done. But what could the Papacy do, faced with the indifference of the Western world?

In Constantinople itself, amongst the Greeks if not amongst the Italian colonists, there was a sense of impending doom, or at least a certainty that doom was impending unless help came from elsewhere or unless a miracle occurred.

The great city was great in area still. Within its thirteen miles of encircling walls there had always been parks and gardens and orchards separating the various quarters. But in the old days, from the late fifth to the late twelfth centuries, a population of at least half a million lived within the walls; and in times of peace as many again lived in the sprawling suburbs, though in times of war many of these would swell the population within the city. Now the suburbs were deserted except for a few little walled towns strung along the Thracian shore of Marmora. The Asiatic suburbs had been in Turkish hands since about 1365, and very few Christians remained there; and Turkish raids made life almost impossible in the

European suburbs unless they were protected by walls. In the city itself the population seems to have begun to decline during the last years of the twelfth century; and under the Latin Emperors the decline was rapid. It had probably been halted for a while with the recovery of the city by the Byzantines in 1261. But the fourteenth century was a time of ruinous civil wars and growing poverty, with the trade of the area passing almost completely into Italian hands. The most serious factor in reducing the population was plague. The Black Death struck the city in 1347. Some contemporary Italians believed that seven-eights of the population of the city perished then. A more sober estimate was two-thirds. Allowing for medieval exaggeration, it is probable that nearly half of the citizens died; and the Black Death, though the worst, was not the only visitation. The Turks, it may be added in parenthesis, suffered less, as they were less concentrated in cities. What with plague and economic decay and the difficulty of victualling a large city without a hinterland and the general feeling of insecurity, the decrease in population continued. By the end of the fourteenth century it was probably not more than 100,000. Fifty years later, on the eve of the fall of the city, it can be calculated as having been just over 50,000 Greeks, with a few thousand Venetian and other colonists.

As a result huge areas within the walls lay empty of houses. Except along the shores of the great harbour of the Golden Horn and for the central ridge, on either side of the main street that led from the old Palace quarter and Saint Sophia past the Church of the Holy Apostles to the Adrianople Gate, where houses and shops were fairly continuous, there were now only a few little villages dotted about, each clustering round some historic church or monastery and each with its own stockade and gates that were locked at night. In the springtime, with the roses blooming in the hedgerows and the nightingales singing in the copses, you would have thought that you were in the depths of the country, so wrote a fourteenth-century scholar, contrasting the city with his native Thessalonica.

There was an atmosphere of decay, of splendour that was

past. The Imperial Court still maintained a certain formal dignity. But few of the magnificent Court ceremonies of older days took place. They were too costly and too difficult to organize. The old Imperial Palace at the south-eastern tip of the peninsula had been allowed to fall into disrepair by the Latin Emperors, the last of whom, after pawning his son to the Venetians, sold the lead from the roofs to pay his debts. Michael Palaeologus and his successors had not attempted the expensive task of restoring its halls and chambers. The Emperors now lived in the more modest Palace of Blachernae, where the land-walls ran down to the Golden Horn. This meant that they had to ride for more than three miles if they wished to attend a service at the Cathedral of Saint Sophia. The sacred ceremonies that had linked the Palace with the Cathedral were therefore impracticable. The Court was still splendidly dressed. But it had been noticed even in 1347 that the imperial jewels that flashed at the coronation of John VI and his Empress were really made of glass. It grieved the gallant French traveller, Bertrandon de la Broquière, in 1413, to see how small was the escort that accompanied the lovely Empress Maria Comnene, wife of John VIII, when she rode to Mass at Saint Sophia. On the other hand he thought that she painted her face immoderately, which was unnecessary for so beautiful a woman.

You could still see a few grandly dressed lords and ladies riding on horseback through the streets. The litters, more fashionable in older days, had been given up, for lack of servants. The Byzantines always had had domestic staff problems, once chattel-slavery had been virtually abandoned; and with the decline in population this problem was acute. There were still a few rich men, mostly owners of town property, and a few prosperous merchants, with Italian connections. Luxury cloths were still woven, mostly in factories owned by the state; but the other luxury goods for which Byzantium had been famous were no longer made, owing to the difficulty and cost of obtaining raw materials. There were still shop-keepers catering to the needs of the population, and monks and nuns attending to welfare-works. There were market-gardeners grow-

ing vegetables and fruit within the walls, and fishermen who brought to the citizens their chief food from the teeming waters of the Bosphorus. These were all licensed; and the money obtained from the fishermen's licenses was used to keep the huge Church of Saint Sophia supplied with candles and oil for its lamps.

Indeed, such money as the government could spare from its daily needs was spent on the upkeep of Saint Sophia, on the repair of the city walls and on the University. The late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries had been one of the great artistic ages of Byzantium, the age which produced among other glories the decoration of the monastery church of the Chora, the present Kahriye Cami, with its incomparable mosaics and frescoes. Later on there was no money for such enterprises; and many of the churches fell into disrepair. Even the Cathedral of the Holy Apostles, the second church of the city, with its series of Imperial tombs, was badly in need of restoration. The upkeep of the walls was a practical necessity. The great double land-wall, built in the mid-fifth century, was still formidable, but repairs were continually necessary; and the single wall built out at the northern end to enclose the suburb and palace of Blachernae was always a cause of worry. When the final siege of the city began the walls were in good condition; but they had not been built to withstand artillery.

Money was spared also for education. Even when the artistic impulse of the Palaeologan era seemed to be failing, the intellectual life remained brilliant. In all Byzantine history it was never more brilliant than in that period of plague and civil war and foreign invasion that made up the fourteenth century; and the brilliance lasted on until the fall of the city. Throughout the fourteenth century the University of Constantinople, reorganized at the end of the thirteenth century by the statesman Theodore Metochites and again a hundred years later by the Emperor Manuel II, was producing, along with the complementary institution, the Patriarchal Academy, generation after generation of distinguished scholars. The University kept its high reputation well into the fifteenth century. The

future Pope Pius II, the humanist Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, was to write that in his young days, early in the century, Italians who wished to be thought well educated all claimed to have studied at the University of Constantinople. But as time went on, more and more Greek intellectuals began to migrate. There was what is now called a "brain drain." Greek scholars were offered comfortable and lucrative Chairs in Italy, away from the melancholy uncertainties of life in their own dying city. Some of them left also because they were out of sympathy with its human atmosphere. To intellectuals impressed by the vigorous, burgeoning life of Renaissance Italy the temperament prevailing at Constantinople seemed defeatist and wrong.

Human nature is apt to be swayed by great optimism or great pessimism and seldom by a realistic mean. There have been in many countries and in many periods men who believe that they are living in an era of enlightenment that will surely lead to the Golden Age; and there have always been men who are convinced that the end of the world is nigh, men who see looming before them Armageddon or the nuclear bomb. Even amongst the ancient Greeks, with all their zest for life, there had been some who took refuge from the harshness of this world in the divine Mysteries, whether at Eleusis or in the wilder practices of Samothrace. This was the taste that was inherited by the Byzantine Greeks. With the old political world of the Roman Empire collapsing and collapsed around them, fortified by the vision of the Neo-Platonists and the Christian mystics, they had always seen life against the background of an eternity that they hoped would be of everlasting bliss, but an eternity that could only be reached after travail and suffering. We talk glibly of the Middle Ages as the ages of faith; but, being as we are the issue of generations of materialists, we seldom stop to think what faith meant to the faithful of those ages. If we believe firmly that there is a blessed life to come, then the pursuit of happiness in this life is of little relative importance. Indeed, our task in this world is to live in such a way that we do not forfeit our entry into the eternal life. We must lead a good life; and a good life is more likely

to entail suffering than pleasure. Jesus Christ, God who became man, suffered in order that we might be redeemed. We must be prepared to follow in His footsteps. Moreover, if we believe, as every good Christian believed for many centuries, in the divine inspiration and truth of the Holy Scriptures, then we know that suffering lies ahead. We know that Christ cannot come again to inaugurate the new heaven and the new earth until the world has endured Armageddon, "the battle of that great day of God." We know that there must first be the triumph of Anti-Christ before the final victory, before the Second Coming of Christ.

The early Christians had believed that the Second Coming was imminent. For several generations Christian men expected it to occur, if not in their own lifetimes, as least in their children's. Disasters such as the Emperor Nero's persecution or the destruction or Jerusalem by Titus were almost welcomed as the necessary prelude to the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. But the centuries passed and the world did not end. There were godless tyrants and persecutors, but none of them turned out to be Anti-Christ. There were slaughterous battles, but none of them was Armageddon. Yet the end of the world had been clearly, so it seemed, prophesied in the Scriptures. It could not be very long delayed. The Classical historians had held a cyclical view of history; but that could not be adapted to the new eschatology. Another pattern was needed. The great historian Eusebius tried to escape from the sense of doom through his belief that Constantine the Great in recognizing Christianity had ushered in a Golden Age. But he was alone. The Golden Age did not arrive with Constantine. Very soon, and for centuries to come, the Christian historian was not content with giving history a fixed beginning at the Creation and taking it only to his own day. He looked ahead, to its final consummation at the Second Coming. It might not be going to happen quite as soon as his forefathers had imagined. But it would happen, at a date known to the prescience of God.

The climate of Constantinople is melancholy. The prevailing wind comes from the north, blowing down from the Steppes

of Russia across the Black Sea and through the narrow funnel of the Bosphorus, often laden with sleet and snow. It is a cruel wind, though less enervating, perhaps, than the sultry south wind that can blow for days on end in the summer. The atmosphere is always damp and always uncertain; a change in the wind can make the thermometer rise or fall ten degrees or more within an hour. It is a climate far removed from that of the Greek peninsula; it is a climate in which the natural high spirits of the Greeks become tinged with depression and foreboding. It is, I believe, this climate that largely explains the strange pessimism of the Byzantines. They expected disasters to come that would bring their Christian Empire to an end. The Empire might last for a few more centuries; but its days were numbered, were inevitably numbered, in order to allow for the processes that would herald the Second Coming. In Christian Constantinople, even in its most glorious and most prosperous days, men whispered of prophecies that foretold the end of the Empire. It was said that Apollonius of Tyana, that great magician, whom popular belief made contemporary with the foundation of Constantinople, had written out a list of all the Emperors that would reign in the great city and buried it in the foundations of the Column of Constantine. Men claimed to have dug the list up and seen it; and it was not so very lengthy. The Emperor Leo VI, surnamed the Wise for his gift for foretelling the future, was believed to have written a series of verses that looked ahead, past the disaster of 1204, to the rise and fall of the Palaeologi. There were some who declared that the world itself would endure only for the mystic number of seven thousand years. The middle and later Byzantines calculated that the Creation took place in 5508 B.C. If you do your sums correctly you will find that the world must have ended in A.D. 1492. It is not for a European to comment on this. Long before the closing years of the Empire the Byzantines were convinced that the day would come when there would be no more Christian Emperors to reign as God's viceroys upon earth. Now they saw that day approaching. It is noticeable that under the Palaeologan Emperors there was a

sudden increase of interest in the Apocalypse and the Book of Daniel, the books of Holy Writ that described the end of things.

The Byzantines were not alone in this belief. Apocalyptic notions recur far more frequently in Western medieval history; for Byzantium kept in older days enough of the Classical tradition to counter them; and they continued in the West past the days of the Reformation on to the Seventh Day Adventists of our own era. Martin Luther himself was convinced that the end of the world was close: though he never could decide whether it was the Pope or the Sultan who was Anti-Christ. The belief was strong in many parts of Christendom. When clouds gathered, when disasters appeared to be imminent, it provided not, perhaps, any real consolation, but at least an explanation, and a promise, when the worst should be over, of better things to come in a better world.

There was thus in Constantinople, even before the Turkish menace loomed so large, a background of fatalism, a sense of predestined doom, which affected even the sophisticated circles of the Imperial Court, and which grew stronger as the threat increased. It was, naturally, strongest in simpler circles, especially amongst the monks of the poorer monasteries, men who read little beyond the Scriptures and the Lives of the Saints and world-chronicles that emphasized the beginning and the end of things. The intellectuals, brought up on Classical historians with a cyclical view of history, were less pessimistic. They were ready to believe in a decline and fall but they hoped for a renascence. There had been disasters before, but revivals had followed. The Empire, as one of them said in the fourteenth century, was like a woman who at intervals appeared in a new robe, looking as lovely and young as ever. While to the pious the imminence of the Second Coming made it all the more necessary to hold to the true faith and not to wander from it but to worship God in the correct way according to the high Orthodox tradition, there were scholars who maintained a different sense of proportion. Unconvinced that the predestined end of the Empire was so imminent, they were

prepared to be less rigid in their religious outlook. If there were a chance of preserving the Empire by making religious concessions, they would make them; and thus, maybe, the Empire would be renewed.

This was the essence of the chief debate that agitated the last decades of Byzantium. From the later years of the fourteenth century it had been clear that the Turkish threat could only be met by help from outside. Byzantium had no longer the resources. It seemed clear, too, that only the powers of Western Europe were in a position to give the needed aid. But the Western powers felt little enthusiasm for an Empire that they regarded as schismatic: while the one potentate who seemed to be in a position to organize Western aid on an international basis, the Pope, could not be expected to organize it for Christians who obstinately refused to enter within his fold. The Eastern and Western Churches had been in schism now for more than two centuries. It was a schism that was universally regretted but very difficult to close. To the Byzantines Western theology was wrong on the question of the Dual Procession of the Holy Ghost; Western liturgical usage was wrong over its use of unleavened bread and its denial of communion in both kinds to the laity. There were other lesser points in dispute; and there was a basic difference in attitude between the apophatic tradition of the Eastern theologians and the new scholastic outlook of the West. But, looming above it all, was the refusal of the Byzantine Church and its fellow Orthodox churches to admit the Papal claim to ecclesiastical supremacy over all Christendom: which to the Orthodox was contrary to tradition and the canon law and unauthorized by the Scriptures. Yet, unless the Papal claim was admitted, Byzantium could plead in vain for Western help. To a number of Byzantine statesmen and thinkers, to whom the preservation of the Empire was the first consideration, it seemed foolish to forgo much needed allies by continuing with the schism. It was now a political as well as a pious duty to end it. Concessions must therefore be made; and if the condition on which Western help would be given was submission to the Papacy, the

Byzantine Church must submit, at least so long as Byzantium could keep its liturgical usages and was not obliged to abandon deeply held articles of faith.

In the mid-fourteenth century the Emperor John V had issued a Bull promising the submission of his Church to the Papacy in return for aid, which did not arrive. In 1379 he made his personal submission to Rome, but without involving his people. His conversion was almost certainly sincere, but it was also politically useful. However, the Crusade of Nicopolis, which was its ultimate reward, was a dismal failure. His son, Manuel II, was more cautious. He travelled in the West, seeking help from its lay monarchs; he had many Western friends, and he encouraged Latin studies at the University. But he remained loyal to the Orthodox tradition; and his advice to his son, John VIII, was to keep the door of negotiation always open but never to pass right through and commit himself. But John VIII, when he succeeded to the supreme power, felt that the need for Western help was too urgent. After long and complex negotiations he brought a delegation of ecclesiastics and philosophers to Italy to discuss Union at a Council that met first at Ferrara and was moved to Florence. His delegation was a group of individuals, each with his own view-point. They met a highly organized team of superbly trained Latin theologians, who, it must be admitted, had the best of the argument. Some of the Greeks, including their finest scholar, Bessarion, were convinced that Latin theology was correct, or at least tenable. Others were fascinated by Italian culture. Others were persuaded that necessity justified their yielding to the Pope's command; others, under some pressure, did what the Emperor ordered. The Union of Florence was signed in July, 1439, with only one Greek ecclesiastic, Mark Eugenicus, Metropolitan of Smyrna, refusing his signature. One or two bishops had managed to leave Florence before the ceremony; and the philosopher, George Gemistus Plethon, failed to be present. But he had little use for Christianity in any form; he preferred to refer to the Almighty in his writings as Zeus.

The Emperor John found it easier to sign the Union decree

in Italy than to implement it in Constantinople. So unpopular was the Union there that many of its advocates, with Bessarion at their head, retired unhappily to Italy, while others, led by a scholar almost equally renowned, George Scholarius, later better known as Gennadius, changed their minds. Scarcely a priest or monk in the city would have anything to do with the Unionist hierarchy. John could not venture to proclaim the decree in his capital. The opposition was not entirely factious nor entirely swayed by apocalyptic notions. Could the Union in fact produce effective aid? The Crusade that followed in 1444 was easily wiped out by the Turks at Varna. In truth the only powers that could provide the sort of help that was needed were the maritime powers, Genoa, whose troubles in Italy were increasing and who was therefore nervous of entanglements in the Levant, and Venice, which was better aware of the situation but slow to move and on bad terms with the Papacy. Moreover, there were large numbers of Orthodox already under Turkish rule; the greater number of the Metropolitan sees dependent on the Patriarchate of Constantinople lay in the Sultan's dominions. As yet these Orthodox were allowed to keep in touch with Constantinople. But if the Patriarch became the tool of the West, the Sultan was hardly likely to permit such connections to continue. The Russians, the largest of the free Orthodox peoples, were bitterly opposed to Union, as were the Moldavo-Wallachians and the Georgians. Union would merely create a new schism within the Orthodox help, for the sake of help that might never arrive. Such arguments had their weight. But it must be confessed that for most of the Byzantines the opposition to Union was based on an almost hysterical refusal to abandon the narrow path of Orthodoxy, the traditions handed down from their forefathers, at this crucial moment when the triumph of Anti-Christ was imminent and the End of the World surely not far away. This was not the moment to lapse from the Faith for temporary worldly advantages.

Yet when the crisis came, the whole population of the city rallied behind the Emperor. John VIII was succeeded by his

brother Constantine XI in 1449. Constantine, like John, considered himself personally bound by the Union but did not attempt to enforce it. But he allowed it to be proclaimed by a Greek-born Cardinal, Isidore, sent by the Pope, in the winter of 1452, when everyone could see that the Turkish attack on the city was being prepared. Isidore brought with him a company of three hundred soldiers and the promise of more to come; and the proclamation was therefore received, if not with enthusiasm, at least without riots. But no more soldiers came from Rome. Apart from Isidore's three hundred men the only Westerners to fight for Christian Constantinople in her last agony were the members of the Venetian colony, who had everything to lose should the Turks be victorious, a few—very few—of the Genoese colonists at Pera, which officially preserved a shameful and fruitless neutrality, and a number of gallant adventurers, many of them Genoese, headed by the great Genoese *condottiere,* Giustiniani Longo. There were a few Greeks who sent their children and their precious relics to safety in Italy before the siege began; but the men, whatever their views, stayed on to fight to the last. There was nothing illogical in this. Anti-Christ was to triumph, no doubt. But no true Christian would refuse to fight the battle against Anti-Christ, even though defeat and death were the certain outcome. There was hope that the evil day might be postponed; but there was no hope of victory. The Christian Empire, founded by Constantine, son of Helena, would perish under this last Constantine, whose mother was also Helena. The courage of the Greeks in 1453 was extraordinary; for they knew that death or captivity would be their fate. Yet they fought so well that the siege was almost abandoned. They fought believing that they would pass through the shadow of death, to meet their reward in the everlasting Kingdom of Heaven.

The Emperor himself was of their company. Twice during the siege of the city his advisers begged him to escape while he could, to continue resistance at a spot where help could reach him. But he refused. If his city and his Empire were to perish, he would perish with them.

Yet men who live on the slopes of an active volcano go on busily cultivating their fields until the eruption occurs. At Constantinople, despite the prophecies, despite the conviction that the end was near, life went bustling on until the siege began. The courtiers intrigued, the theologians debated, the professors lectured, and the merchants and craftsmen went about their daily tasks. There was melancholy and there was apprehension; and the controversies were embittered by the feeling of despair. But life has to go on; and the crisis may be held back for a generation, or at least for a year. To a man under sentence of death even an added day of life is precious. Had we lived in Constantinople in those years that led to the crisis of 1453 we would have been conscious of the coming doom but we would have hoped that it would not come just yet. That hope remained until the Sultan's newly built fleet assembled and began to cruise relentlessly to and fro before the harbour, and until a vast Turkish army moved up to the walls and its great cannons began to boom, drowning the song of the nightingales in the orchards and drowning the bells that rang through the city to warn the citizens of the onslaught. Then there was little hope left, unless the Mother of God, protectress of the city, sent down an angel with a flaming sword, as the crowds gathered in Saint Sophia on the final day half-expected. But no angel came, only the hordes of infidels and then the Conquering Sultan himself, the great figure of Anti-Christ, but an Anti-Christ whose dynasty endured. The enslaved Christians looked for the Second Coming in vain. It has still to come. We are still awaiting Armageddon.

VII

Better Teachers than Scotus or Aquinas

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Although this lecture on Erasmus was prepared with the five hundredth anniversary of his birth in mind, I must point out that the date formerly accepted, October 28, 1466, has been called into question and is still *sub iudice*. Dutch scholars now seem to agree on 1469 as the correct year. On the other hand, the latest contribution[1] to the debate defends the 1466 date, which P. S. Allen also regarded as the most probable. The testimony of Erasmus himself is less than decisive. No matter: whether he was born in 1466, 1467, or 1469, his place in the epoch of Renaissance and Reformation is secure and his interest for students of intellectual history undiminished.

In the hope of clarifying some important and characteristic tenets of Erasmus, I propose to examine briefly certain passages in one of his colloquies, including paragraphs of which Professor Bush justly says that "Nothing in Renaissance writing is closer to the heart of Christian humanism."[2] My text is *The Godly Feast* (*Convivium Religiosum*), a dialogue of 1522[3] presenting and illustrating with literary grace an unusual variety of significant sixteenth-century ideas—commonplaces, if one prefers—on social, ethical, and religious topics. Few dialogues of the same scope, whether in Latin or English, furnish better examples of what is embraced by so-called Christian humanism: a humanism which, moreover, has obvious affinity with much that we find in later English religious thought, both Anglican and Puritan; in the presuppositions and practices of Tudor educators; and in the mental world of Spenser and Milton. "Erasmian humanism," as Miss Yates writes, "was the direct

ancestor of Protestant humanism. . . . The Tudor Church was permeated with Erasmian influences; and the substitution of a philological and literary classical culture for the old philosophical culture was to persist as the normal education of a 'parson' right through the main periods of English history."[4]

I

The Godly Feast takes us to a dinner party at the villa of Eusebius. We begin with a tour of the grounds; and with good reason, because this dialogue is remarkable for its emphasis on setting and for the wealth of symbolism in its descriptions. Here the living flowers, trees, birds and waters are rivaled in beauty and plenitude by the profusion of painted ones. Gardens and country houses are common enough in Renaissance as in ancient literature, yet I do not know of another dialogue which emphasizes painted nature so much. Erasmus delighted in natural history (studied at second hand) and animal symbolism, as for instance in the colloquy *Amicitia.* In accordance with the familiar and authoritative counsel of Augustine,[5] he stressed the utility, for exegetical and homiletic ends, of acquaintance with the properties of things found in nature. (No use, he says, for an expert in syllogistic logic to dispute about the crocodile if he does not know what kind of tree or animal a crocodile is!)[6] In *The Godly Feast* gardens and villa are filled with statuary, frescoes, and paintings, many of them provided with mottoes or captions—an omnipresent source of visual delight and moral edification. Professor Panofsky notes that "Erasmus' response to art, like that of all Northern humanists, was literary rather than visual."[7] We may add that his response to nature too was often literary rather than visual, and it was moralistic as well.

At dinner the host, Eusebius, has a servant read some verses from the Bible; he then invites interpretations and comments by the guests, all of whom, like Eusebius, are laymen and are married. Discussion leads to scrutiny of other Biblical texts, with many digressions, or seeming digressions, on literary and religious subjects. I shall review two of the topics: first, the

exegesis of Sacred Scripture; second, the contrast between certain ancient and "modern" (we call them mediaeval) teachers. The second topic, which will bring us to the famous "Sancte Socrates" speech and serve to remind us of some favorite themes in sixteenth-century literary criticism, is usually treated separately or in isolation, but actually and designedly it is connected with the discussion on the meaning of certain Biblical texts. And this relationship deserves emphasis if we are to read *The Godly Feast* properly, for the deliberate conjunction of Christian and classical themes is what gives these pages of the dialogue their distinctive character. Erasmus never confused sacred with profane scriptures, but he found inspiration in pagan as well as Christian writings, and said so. The best that had been thought and said in pagan literature contributed far more to moral enlightenment than did the dreary dialectics of philosophers or most of the metaphysical speculations of modern theologians. Many another Renaissance humanist, from Petrarch to Milton, shared this detestation of academic philosophy. Indeed the oft-quoted passage in *Areopagitica* praising the didactic power of poetry is but a later example in a long series of encomia of literature at the expense of philosophy.

Milton affirms that our sage and serious poet Spenser is a better *teacher* than Scotus or Aquinas. In order to know virtue and persevere in it, we must first know "the utmost that vice promises to her followers." Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is superior to the dissertations of Scotus or Aquinas because it engages our imagination and emotions, enabling us to see what vice is really like "and yet abstain"; while philosophers appeal to reason alone. A literary artist—in this instance a poet—by his power of making vivid the nature and effects of vice and virtue, will teach us more of man, of moral evil and of good, than all Scholastics can.

Milton's claim for the power of art and imagination to influence or control moral conduct is memorable, not only because of its sincerity and vigor, but because it is part of an argument with which most of us are likely to sympathize. His

conviction about Spenser is essentially the same, *mutatis mutandis,* as that expressed earlier by Erasmus, in *The Godly Feast,* about Plato, Plutarch, and Cicero. It is true that Erasmus was speaking of prose authors, not poets. It is equally true that his assumptions about the name and nature of poetry were not those of Spenser or Milton. They were instead the assumptions habitual to Renaissance writers of Latin, not vernacular, poetry;[8] to these writers poetry was first of all a branch of rhetoric. But on the question of whether literature and eloquence (synonymous terms in this context) are more illuminating and more instructive than dispassionate analysis, Erasmus, Spenser, and Milton agree. To appreciate the extent of their agreement, we must put aside our common notions about the differences between poetry and prose. Many of those notions did not exist for Erasmus. And whether eloquence took the form of prose or verse was not very important. What mattered was the distinction between the persuasive power of eloquence —that is, of artistic language heightened by emotion and imagination—and, by contrast, the kind of discourse which only expounds or demonstrates to us.

Erasmus' short criticism of Scotus and company, which I shall quote later from *The Godly Feast,* implies more than it states, and to be understood fully should be compared with other, longer passages in his writings. Criticism of Scholastic writers and writings, on many grounds, was nothing new, to be sure; but Erasmus' succinct contrast between the aridity of dialectical philosophy (Scotus) and the fruits of eloquence (Cicero and Plutarch) and moral example (Plato's Socrates) remains one of the best, and best-remembered, assertions in Renaissance Latin literature of a doctrine later emphasized in English by Sidney and Milton. Moreover, this passage in Erasmus has additional interest if we notice, and remember, its place in the rhetorical structure of the dialogue.[9]

Erasmus believed his vocation was to serve Christian society by providing works of scholarship for students and divines and by interpreting and popularizing ideas and issues for the edu-

cated, Latin-reading public. But he was not unmindful of the others. Some of the prefaces to his editions of the Greek New Testament and to his *Paraphrases* voice the hope that the Bible will be translated into all tongues and that all the laity, high and low, rich and poor, will become Bible readers. Thus in *Paraclesis,* his preface to the New Testament:

> I disagree emphatically with those who do not want the Scriptures to be read by simple people [*idiotis*] in vernacular translation, as if Christ taught such complicated doctrines that they could scarcely be understood by a handful of theologians, or as if the safeguarding of the Christian religion depended on our ignorance of it! To conceal the mysteries of kings is perhaps expedient, but Christ wants his mysteries to be circulated as widely as possible. I would have all servant-girls read the Gospels and Paul's letters. And would that these were translated into the tongues of all peoples, that they might be read and understood not only by Scots or Irish but by Turks and Saracens as well. . . . Would that the farmer at his plough recited something from Scripture, the weaver hummed it at his loom, the traveler lightened the tedium of his journey with tales of this kind.[10]

In a prefatory address, January, 1522 (the year of *The Godly Feast*), to readers of his *Paraphrases,* we find the same insistence that the Bible is not for scholars but for everybody and that it ought to be available in translation. Christ died for all men and he longs to be known by all.

> Let us consider the hearers Christ himself had. Were they not the common multitude, and among them the blind and the halt, beggars, publicans, soldiers, artisans, women and children? Would he disdain to be read by those whom he wished to have as hearers? If I had my way the farmer would read; smith and stonecutter would read; harlots and bawds would read; even Turks would read. If Christ did not keep them from his discourse, neither will I keep them from his books.[11]

Such topics as these—the Biblical literacy of the laity and their disposition to search the Scriptures—are made to serve Erasmus' dramatic purposes in the *Colloquies* as plausibly as

they serve expository and hortatory ends in his prefaces and notes to the New Testament and in the *Paraphrases.* He knew his public. For some readers he edited texts and produced learned notes; for others he prepared paraphrases or commentaries, made translations, wrote essays. In his notes to the New Testament, for instance, he was at pains to establish readings, clarify linguistic nuances, comment on idiom, and compare passages. In the *Colloquies,* most of which are works of imagination, dramatic dialogues, we find Biblical topics treated on various levels of learning or sincerity as befits the seriousness or moral character or intelligence of the speakers. Some of the characters who talk about the Bible in these dialogues are very different from those in *The Godly Feast*: rogues, tradesmen, housewives, soldiers, schoolboys, friars, and monks. In *The Godly Feast* itself, however, serious and sensible men deal seriously but gracefully with Biblical questions.

When interpreting Scripture, Erasmus relies on both of the traditional modes used by exegetes, though he varies or adjusts them when he feels it is desirable to do so. These modes are, of course, the ones described by the loose but unavoidable terms "literal" and "spiritual" or "figurative." Literal interpretation, for Erasmus, must be based on sound philological and historical knowledge. Definite guidelines exist for telling us when figurative instead of literal interpretation should be used. We can test the consistency of Erasmus' practice by reference to the judgments and rules enunciated in *Ratio Verae Theologiae,* 1518 (written for aspiring theologians), and *Ecclesiastes,* 1535 (for preachers); and we must take into account the nature of the document in which his interpretation occurs—is it one of his letters (and what sort of letter?), a homily, a treatise, an ironic encomium, a fictive dialogue, or something else? In his notes to the New Testament, linguistic and historical comments and comparisons of passages predominate, since his purpose there is to explain and illustrate the meaning. In *The Godly Feast,* a work of literary art but entirely serious in purpose, we get appropriately informal, shrewd, provocative application of exe-

getical principles, free from the jargon of the schools and contributed by pious men who are learned but unpedantic readers.

We must not fail to notice that Erasmus often insists on the necessity of figurative or allegorical interpretation of certain kinds of Biblical statement. Such non-literal interpretation he regards as an indispensable resource. He is in his element when he edits or comments as a philologist—I use this word in its most comprehensive sense—but philology is not enough. That Sacred Scripture includes obscurities not explicable by linguistic knowledge or "common sense" (*peritia sermonis, sensus communis*) is admitted by all the doctors. For we must deal not only with textual corruptions but with apparent contradictions, ambiguities of idiom and syntax, synonyms, proper names, parables, proverbs, the use of dramatic mode, the uncertain tone of a passage (e.g., to what extent is "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" in John 1:46 ironical?).[12] Some sayings Christ evidently did not intend to be understood (e.g., "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up," John 2:19). Others are simply unintelligible (e.g., the words about the sin against the Holy Ghost, Mark 3:29; and those about the last days, which the Father alone knows but of which the Son is ignorant, Mark 13:32).[13] Accordingly we must recognize the existence and extent of multiple senses in Scripture and, to "save the appearances," as it were, take refuge in figurative interpretation.

Erasmus accepts, with some reservations, the conventional fourfold distinction of a literal or grammatical or historical sense (he uses these terms synonymously) and three kinds of figurative or spiritual sense: tropological or moral, "quoties Scripturam ad singulorum mores erudiendos accomodamus (nam τρόπος Graecis tria significat, schema, modum, et vitam ac mores hominis)"; allegorical (to be distinguished from typological), "cum Scripturam accomodamus ad Christum, et huius corpus mysticum Ecclesiam militantem"; and anagogical, "quae nobis aperit mysterium ineffabilis essentiae divinae," "cum hinc evehimur ad Ecclesiam triumphantem, et substantias separatas, usque ad Trinitatis fastigium, ultra quod nullus est excessus."[14] He notes

that the ancients used only two senses, literal and spiritual; later exegetes expanded these to four. The tendency of some theologians to apply distinctions too rigidly or too mechanically he deplores. Any kind of interpretation can be carried to extremes: "Pariter impii sunt qui vel typos vel allegorias submovent e Scripturis, et qui sectantes allegoriam, sensum historicum reiiciunt ubi nulla cogit necessitas. Sed in his sobria mediocritas servanda."[15] Origen and Ambrose sometimes carried non-literal interpretation too far; on the other hand, those who reject tropology make carnal what St. Paul insists is spiritual.[16]

Interpretation requires that the literal-grammatical-historical sense, "cui superstruitur allegoria," be perceived correctly and weighed precisely.[17] We should keep to the literal sense when we can, but we are often forced to retreat from it. "Necessitate igitur depellimur a littera, quoties Scripturae verba, ni tropum adhibeas, manifestam habent falsitatem aut absurditatem aut alioqui sensum pugnantem cum doctrina Christi piisque moribus."[18] If read only literally, some parts of the Old Testament are painfully like the fictions of the poets.[19] The story of how Laban gave Leah instead of Rachel to Jacob seems unedifying if we keep only the literal sense. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard," while no bad advice, could have come from any pagan.[20] The letter killeth but the Spirit giveth life. Therefore: "Ex interpretibus divinae Scripturae, eos potissimum delige qui a littera quam maxime recedunt." Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine are usually safe guides. Beware of those moderns, including the Scotists, who overemphasize the literal.[21] Demonstration of dogmas does not and cannot depend on allegory, but allegory is most useful in promoting piety and furnishing consolation; it enhances dogmas even though it does not prove them.[22]

Now let us see what interpretation is like when intelligent, concerned laymen approach the task in a suitably Erasmian frame of mind. The importance of their lay status is unmistakable; it gives an air of sincerity and candor to their talk, of greater freedom in criticizing, and enables them to utter opinions or resort to methods which might be less acceptable if

attributed to strictly professional, academic exegetes. In his defense of the *Colloquies,* 1526, Erasmus again called attention to their status. To say the Reformation was the work of laymen would be rash, but at least we can say that the sentiments of these pious, Bible-reading men in Erasmus' pages express the convictions of all the principal Reformers about the duty, urgency, and profit of Biblical study.

In their examination of Scripture our speakers acknowledge and respect the literal sense, but they prefer to dwell on the tropological meaning, as Erasmus himself so often does in his commentaries. Their inquiry is far too long for me to do justice to what is, after all, a literary composition; but I shall try to sketch the course of the argument.

While the guests are at table a servant reads the opening verses of Proverbs 21: "The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water; he turneth it whithersoever he will. Every way of a man is right in his own eyes; but the Lord pondereth the hearts. To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice." What do these words mean? Eusebius, the host, offers an opinion, after assuring his friends that he will not bother with what the commentators have said about the passage.[23] He gives us the moral sense of the opening verse. Since a king's heart is unmoved by fears, threats, or rebukes,

> therefore, whenever princes have their minds set on anything, they should be left to their whims, not because they always desire what is best, but because God sometimes uses their madness or wickedness to correct sinners, as he forbade resistance to Nebuchadnezzar because he had decided to chastise his people through the agency of this king. Perhaps this is what Job means: "Who maketh the hypocrite reign for the sins of the people." And maybe what David says, lamenting his sin, applies here: "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned and done this evil in thy sight." Not that kings don't commit sin, to the great injury of their people, but none of their subjects has authority to condemn them; whereas no man, be he ever so mighty, can escape God's judgment.

The *Glossa Ordinaria* takes Proverbs 21:1 as an illustration of divine sovereignty and as an answer to Pelagians. Erasmus, however, uses this verse in *De Libero Arbitrio* to support his argument for the freedom of the will; for "turn," he says, is not the same as "force" ("Non statim cogit, qui inclinat").[24] Luther replied that although the turning in question was not a matter of compulsion, yet it was one of immutability: something man cannot avoid or change.[25] Calvin emphasized that this verse applies to the entire human race, not only to kings.[26] Erasmus, incidentally, was fond of quoting this text when writing to princes.[27]

Timothy, the senior guest, suggests that the verse can be accommodated to a deeper (*abstrusiorem*) meaning. "King" can be understood as

> the perfect man, who, with his bodily passions under control, is governed solely by the power of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, to compel such a man to conform to human laws is perhaps inappropriate. Instead he should be left to his Master, by whose spirit he is led. . . . If he does anything unrighteously, we ought to say with Paul, "God hath received him," "To his own master he standeth or falleth. . . ." Nobody may prescribe to such men, but the Lord who set the bounds to sea and rivers has the heart of the king in his hand and directs it whithersoever he wills.

It is foolish to try to bind by human regulations one who is governed by the evident inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

This interpretation by Timothy displeased the Sorbonne, which took it to mean that the "perfect" man need not observe *leges ecclesiasticas*. Erasmus replied that the Holy Spirit is above all human laws, above the pope, above councils however universal.[28]

Next Sophronius is asked to comment on the second verse: "Every way of a man is right in his own eyes; but the Lord pondereth the hearts." How typically Erasmian is his opinion:

> The doctrine here seems the same as that of Paul, that piety is sought after by various modes of life. Some find the priesthood to their liking, some celibacy, some marriage, some retirement,

some public affairs. . . . Again, one man eats anything he likes; another discriminates between foods; another between days; to another every day is the same. In these matters Paul wants everyone to enjoy his own preferences without reproach from anybody else. No man should judge in questions of this sort but leave judgment to God, who pondereth the hearts. And in fact it often happens that he who eats is more acceptable to God than he who does not; and he who profanes a holy day than he who seems to keep it; and this man's marriage is more acceptable in the sight of God than the celibacy of many others.

Another speaker, Theophilus, interprets the third verse: "To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice." He compares this with Hosea 6:6: "I desired mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." This idea is best explained by what we read in Matthew 9; when Jesus is asked why he dines with publicans and sinners, his answer is: "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice: for I am not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance."

"You explain the matter admirably by comparing passages, an excellent method of Biblical study," says Eusebius. Origen and Augustine agree, Erasmus reminds us, that this is the best method of interpreting Scripture: "si locum obscurum ex aliorum locorum collatione reddamus illustrem."[29] He warns, though, that this method yields different results to different investigators; he warns also against lifting passages out of context, against ignoring the circumstances of composition, and disregarding the writer's intention.[30] In More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies,* 1529, the Messenger, who has Lutheran sympathies, says that "the best and surest interpretation was to lay and confer one text with another," and declares that he himself has no need of interpreters or glosses.[31] More regards this exclusive reliance on private judgment as a dangerous eccentricity, since it ignores Tradition.

Jewish law, continues Theophilus, enjoins some things that are presumptions rather than proofs of holiness: such things as

sabbaths, fasts, and sacrifices. The Jews embraced the shadow but neglected the substance. "I think 'sacrifice' means whatever pertains to corporeal rites and has some connection with Judaism. . . . These become displeasing to God if a person relies on such observances but neglects works of mercy when a brother's need calls for charity." What he calls "Judaism" here is legalism, formalism, the pharisaical mind, the letter without the spirit.[32] Yet the Sorbonne objected to this speech, too, charging that it agreed with Luther's opinions. Erasmus retorted that indeed it agreed with everyone's opinions, because it was true.[33] And such Judaism, he never tires of telling his readers, is nowadays only too common among Christians as well.

Eulalius now brings out a volume of Paul's letters, "which I always carry with me as my favorite delights," and opens a long discussion of I Corinthians 6:12: "All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any." The gist of Eulalius' interpretation is that Paul, and by extension all Christians, are free from bondage to those rites, dietary laws, and ceremonies[34] which, however fixed or sanctioned, do not affect salvation. Nevertheless, as Christians we ought to feel an obligation to avoid occasion or action that would damage or diminish the spiritual welfare of others. Things indifferent in themselves take on ethical and spiritual significance in accordance with the use we make of them.

Here is the fundamental, familiar Pauline doctrine of Christian liberty: one of Erasmus' favorite themes, running like a refrain through his writings on religion. Since the apostle's treatment of the question raised in chapter 6 is resumed in later chapters of I Corinthians, Eulalius adduces other passages to illustrate the meaning and account for apparent inconsistencies in chapter 6. His main difficulty is not Paul's basic meaning but the incoherence of the argument. Solution depends on literary criticism, on consideration of the structure of chapter 6 and comparison with chapters 8-10. He cites the opinions of Ambrose and Theophylact but rejects them; other commen-

tators he ignores.[35] Thus analysis and comparison of the language and organization of later chapters of Paul's letter help to clarify the meaning of chapter 6. The examination is modest but shrewd; the results are undoubtedly helpful. A modern Catholic writer, Louis Bouyer, calls Eulalius' analysis a model of exegesis.[36] The Sorbonne, as we might have expected, took a somewhat dimmer view of it.

When Chrysoglottus says that he too has something to contribute, but hesitates because it comes from profane instead of sacred sources, Eusebius assures him that:

> On the contrary, whatever is devout and contributes to good morals ought not to be called profane. Sacred Scripture is of course the basic authority in everything; yet I sometimes run across ancient sayings or pagan writings—even the poets'—so purely and reverently and admirably expressed that I can't help believing their authors' hearts were moved by some divine power. And perhaps the spirit of Christ is more widespread than we understand, and the company of saints includes many not in our calendar. Speaking frankly among friends, I can't read Cicero's *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Officiis, De Tusculanis Quaestionibus* without sometimes kissing the book and blessing that pure heart, divinely inspired as it was. But when, on the other hand, I read these modern writers on government, economics, or ethics—good Lord, how dull they are by comparison! And what lack of feeling they seem to have for what they write! So that I would much rather let all of Scotus and others of his sort perish than the books of a single Cicero or Plutarch. Not that I condemn the former entirely; but I perceive I am helped by reading the latter, whereas I rise from the reading of those others somehow less enthusiastic about true virtue but more contentious.

This passage is followed by reflections, with copious quotations, prompted by Cato's judgments on human life, as presented in Cicero's *De Senectute.* And these in turn lead to examination of some words by Socrates in *Crito* and *Phaedo.* So, by being reminded of the courage and piety of those two great men as they faced death, and of their hopes concerning a life beyond death, our guests are prepared for what comes

next. Cato's language puts Uranius in mind of Paul's sentence, "We that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened" (II Corinthians 5:4). Another guest praises the words uttered by Socrates just before drinking the hemlock. Then Nephalius: "An admirable spirit, surely, in one who had not known Christ and the Sacred Scriptures. And so, when I read such things of such men, I can hardly help exclaiming, 'Saint Socrates, pray for us!' "

Luther protested that Erasmus made Socrates almost a perfect Christian; and surely Luther could never have written of Socrates, or any other pagan, what we have read in *The Godly Feast.* The maxim "Nulla salus extra Ecclesiam" is explicitly accepted by Erasmus in more than one work. Yet there is also a Christian sentiment at least as old as Justin Martyr that "Christ . . . is the Word of whom every race of men were partakers; those who lived in accordance with reason [μετὰ λόγου], for example Socrates and Heraclitus, are Christians, even though they have been thought atheists" (*Apol.* 1, 46). Can these seemingly contradictory positions, both represented more than once in Erasmus' pages, be reconciled? I believe they can, but only if we take into sufficient account the purpose, subject, literary form, and tone of the passages in which they occur; and take into account likewise the nature of literary enthusiasms. Erasmus' sometimes exuberant language, even in non-dramatic writings, about Socrates, Cicero, and other illustrious ancients, was not without precedent, nor were his feelings on this subject wholly peculiar to the Renaissance. Rather they conveyed, in the idiom of the Renaissance, a confused or ambiguous attitude almost as old as Christianity itself. On such a question Scholastic writers were legalistic, naturally; Erasmus is emotional and intuitional instead. In accordance with certain proof-texts ("No man cometh unto the Father but by me," John 14:6; "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin," Romans 14:23), said Augustine and Luther in effect, even virtuous pagans are condemned and their condemnation must be just. Erasmus and others of his mind and temperament preferred to think, in accordance with certain

other proof-texts ("He that is not against us is on our part," Mark 9:40; "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold," John 10:16), that it is permissible to believe at least some of the virtuous pagans, through the inscrutable workings of divine Providence, were saved.[37]

II

In the passage of *The Godly Feast* we have just examined, we find profane scriptures at their best—the texts of Plato on Socrates and Cicero on Cato—contrasted with academic philosophy at its worst. The difference between Socrates and Scotus, if one is seeking enlightenment, moral guidance, and persuasiveness, is only too clear. Scotus was Christian but barbarous; Socrates was pagan but noble, inspiring, and perhaps inspired. Such is the reaction of the speakers in our dialogue. If we understand this feeling, and their manner of expressing it, we have one key to sixteenth-century taste and letters.

In the vocabulary of Erasmus, "Scotus" and "Scotist" are generic terms for the whole catalogue of Scholastic philosophers and theologians: the academic Establishment, from Thomas Aquinas to Erasmus' own day; typified in his pages by the Sorbonne. He is harder on Scotists than others, both because of his personal experiences with them and because of their Franciscan affiliations. To him the Scotists were always the worst of a bad lot.[38]

Criticism of Scholastic topics and methods existed long before Erasmus was born—the names of Petrarch and Gerson[39] are obvious instances—and in Erasmus' youth was evident in the very center of Scholasticism, the University of Paris. Symptomatic of a long-standing intellectual malaise, this reaction took the form of skepticism about the competing systems and subsequently about the methods and pretensions of philosophy itself, in particular about the supposed utility of philosophy for theology.[40] The fortunes of Scholasticism in the later Middle Ages, and their effects on the intellectual and religious climate of the sixteenth century, make a complex but instructive chap-

ter in the history of thought, a chapter too little known by most literary historians. Investigation of it might throw light on Thomas More and other current favorites. But I must limit myself to Erasmus.

How much acquaintance he had with Scholastic texts before his own Paris years[41] we can only guess; probably it could not have been extensive. Of more importance was his close study of the Latin classics during his years at the priory of Steyn. He knew some modern Latin authors too.[42] Of these Valla impressed him most, and it is not too much to say that Valla's opinions and style affected him for the rest of his life. For Erasmus, Valla's *Elegantiae* (which he edited) was the best handbook on Latinity, and Valla's annotations on the New Testament (which Erasmus also edited) may be called the inspiration of his own annotations.[43] We would like to know whether he had read, before coming to Paris, Valla's encomium of Thomas Aquinas (1457),[44] in which Valla exalts Thomas' sanctity but denigrates his learning by contrasting it with the more profound and more illuminating insights of the principal Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church. And here Valla implies a proposition which Erasmus was to repeat many times: namely, that the preoccupation of the Scholastic writers with dialectic and metaphysics, and their barbarous style—two related weaknesses—did serious damage to Christian theology. Elsewhere Valla expresses surprise that Thomas undertook to write a commentary on St. Paul.

At the University of Paris which Erasmus entered in 1495, the Bible and Peter Lombard's *Sentences* were still the principal studies for intending Bachelors of Divinity. In philosophy the dominance of the two *viae antiquae,* Thomism and Scotism, had long ago been challenged successfully by Nominalism, represented by the Ockhamists.[45] In the Parisian intellectual *milieu* of the late fifteenth century, other schools of thought likewise played a role, though these groups were not in any strict sense philosophical. Erasmus, however, had more in common with them than with the Dominicans or Franciscans of

the schools. One of these groups consisted of theologians who were influenced by varieties of mysticism. These included adherents of the Brethren of the Common Life and admirers of the Italian Platonists. The other group consisted of Italian humanists—Beroaldi, Balbi, Andrelini, for example—and their Parisian coterie: an academic set who prized elegant Latinity and cared more about accurate explication of good texts of classical authors than about the grammatical texts of the traditional arts curriculum. Lefèvre d'Etaples was associated with this group for a time. He had strong sympathy with the Italian humanists and had studied in Italy; yet he is not easy to classify. Erasmus, who in later years read his books attentively, does not seem to have known him when a student in Paris.[46]

For at least a quarter of a century prior to the arrival of Erasmus, the humanists of Paris had been criticizing the "barbarity," aridity, and uselessness of the Scholastic teaching—the sort of vigorous carping at the Establishment, and rivalry among the critics, that we all know so well. Gilles of Delft hopes, in 1489, that Aristotle's texts will furnish not syllogisms but guidance to the good life (and this despite Augustine's warning to Christians a millenium earlier that dialectic does not lead to a happy life). Robert Gaguin (1491) complains—does this sound familiar?—that academic style is always the same, always full of jargon. Delete such words as *quoniam, postquam, cum, consequentur, praeterea, sed contra, in contrarium, responsio, solutio,* and the like, and the books will weigh much less. In the preface to his introduction to logic, 1495, Lefèvre d'Etaples complains about the "barbarous" style of Scholastics in much the same way Erasmus will do later. The Goths, he says, have ruined Latin letters and contaminated true logic and true philosophy with their *suppositiones, ampliationes, restrictiones, appellationes, exponibilia, insolubilia, obligationes.*[47]

When Erasmus came to Paris in 1495 he lived first at the Collège de Montaigu, which he says was full of theologians and of lice, and of which he has painted an unforgettable

picture in his longest colloquy, *Ichthyophagia.* Because he was at least twenty-six years old and a priest, he entered the Faculty of Theology with advanced standing, expecting (we surmise) to proceed to a B.D. degree and then to a doctorate. Even with advanced standing he would have had to study much longer than he actually did to fulfill all the statutory requirements for a degree. Normally, after four years of hearing lectures on the Bible and two more on the *Sentences,* one could, by passing an examination, take the first of the three baccalaureate degrees, becoming *baccalarius cursor;* in due time one would then become also *baccalarius sententiarius* and *baccalarius formatus.*[48] Erasmus became *baccalarius cursor* in three years, by April, 1498. Eight or nine years more and he would have been in sight of his doctorate. But he avoided all that. He left the university in 1499 and obtained his doctorate more conveniently some years later, in 1505, by receiving an honorary degree at Turin. His friends, he says, urged him to accept this honor for its advertising value ("titulum hunc putabant mihi non nihil authoritatis allaturum").[49]

As a student in Paris he became a Scotist; that is, read Scotus, preached some sermons, and took up dialectic.[50] And he hated every minute of it, was bored to death; but he could describe it amusingly, as in a letter to a friend, August, 1497, where he relates the story of Epimenides the Cretan (the original Rip Van Winkle) and swears that Epimenides came to life again in Scotus.[51] Erasmus found the company of Andrelini, Gaguin, and other humanists more congenial than the official studies.

Our knowledge of Erasmus' academic years, though not extensive, is well worth having, if only to save us from the naïve error of wondering whether he knows at first-hand what he is talking about when he refers to Scholastic teachings and texts, technical terms, questions, and disputations. Of course he does. And of course he exaggerates his discontents at times, like other clever graduates who cherish agreeable recollections of past injustices, detestable lectures that wasted their time,

and pedantic professors. Whatever his judgments in such matters, the fact to remember is that these opinions or prejudices originated in his own experience. And to say with one eminent scholar that thereafter Erasmus "ignored" Scholastic learning[52] is going too far. He objected to it, he belittled it, but he did not ignore it. At the end of his life his library still contained editions of Peter Lombard's *Sentences,* Scotus' commentary on the *Sentences,* editions of Durandus, the *Glossa Ordinaria,* and several works by Thomas Aquinas, including his commentary on Paul.[53]

Luther once declared, with characteristic assurance, that neither Thomists nor any other Scholastic theologians understood a single chapter of Aristotle. Furthermore, Aristotle's books, a plague sent to punish us for our sins, ought to be thrown out of the universities: "It grieves me to the heart that this damned, proud, villainous heathen has with his false words deceived and made fools of so many of the best Christians."[54] Dean Colet considered Aquinas intolerably presumptuous because he attempted to define everything, and accused him of corrupting Christ's doctrines with secular philosophy; but this information comes from Erasmus' memoir of Colet and may be exaggerated.[55] Erasmus himself often refers to Thomas Aquinas in his notes to the New Testament, usually but not always to disparage or correct him. Among "modern" theologians Thomas is outstanding in learning, industry, and acuteness (*sanius ingenium*). But there is no getting round the fact that he did not know Greek, and that this ignorance is a fatal handicap to anyone who undertakes to comment on the New Testament.[56]

In addition to their unfortunate ignorance of Greek, the principal failings of Scholastic philosophers and theologians, in the eyes of the humanists, were intellectual arrogance and obscurantism. Their logic and metaphysics were too elaborate, too intricate, too dense.[57] They were forever indulging in audacious attempts to define the undefinable, to discuss subjects that are beyond human grasp; *impia curiositas* was their profes-

sional vice.[58] The abstractions to which they were addicted were generally useless for the conduct of life; indeed the irrelevance of Scholasticism was one of the strongest objections to it. And these logic-choppers were always quarreling among themselves. Franciscans would tolerate no criticism of Scotus, nor Dominicans of Thomas.[59] This is one reason why, when the Lutheran troubles occurred, Erasmus blamed them in part on Scholastic opinions and dogmas.[60]

To a stylist, Scholastic Latinity was bound to be offensive. If we have difficulty in understanding why this language was so distasteful to fastidious humanists, or why in the Renaissance a solecism might compromise a man's reputation for respectability (God is not offended by a solecism, wrote Erasmus, but neither is he pleased by it),[61] this is only because we have nearly lost touch with a world in which rhetoric permeated formal education and humanistic scholars were as responsive to form as to content. Scholastic philosophers and theologians, if we believe their critics, darkened counsel by a muddied style and an intolerable jargon; they were inveterate enemies of humane letters, especially Greek—and they wrote like professors. Far superior, in style as well as substance, were the writings of the ancient Fathers. Better to be devout with Chrysostom than invincible with Scotus.[62] Some impudent haters of polite letters, says Erasmus, dared to dismiss Jerome as "poetical" and undevout because he did not write questions *Scotico stilo*. Assuredly that saint had no dealings "de primis aut secundis intentionibus, de formalitatibus, de quidditatibus, de echeitatibus, deque similibus ridiculis argutiis."[63] The Scholastics had merits, to be sure, but they have been overrated; they wrote for their own times and must be treated as inferior to the ancients.[64]

That the authentic achievements of mediaeval philosophy deserve a very different estimate from what we find in Erasmus and Erasmians requires no argument today. The doughty Anglican parson who proclaimed, "I care nothing for Thomas Aquinas; it is enough for me to know he was a Jesuit" seems

strangely old-fashioned as well as badly informed. Charges of the kind brought by Erasmus, which sound trite even to readers without much first-hand knowledge of Scholastic texts, are in fact a tribute—though not intended as such—to the impression which the Schoolmen made on the world; secondly, a tribute to the success of humanistic, Reformation, and Protestant propaganda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Accusations of excessive subtlety, abstractness, irrelevance, and jargon, whether the culprits be Scholastic philosophers, modern sociologists, or literary critics, are fairly certain to become travesties or examples of guilt-by-association. At present, however, we are concerned not with the justice or injustice of attacks on Scholasticism but with their prevalence.

Erasmus himself was closer to the Nominalists than to Thomists or Scotists, but closest, emotionally at any rate, to the Brethren of the Common Life. Distrust of the "meddling intellect" and its intrusion on topics not open to demonstration or necessary *ad salutem* was characteristic of the adherents of the Devotio Moderna, as it has been characteristic of other pietists and mystics. The inconsistency of being skeptical of philosophy whilst talking, as Erasmus so often did, of the "philosophy" of Christ, never troubled him. "Philosophia Christi" meant a way of life, the Gospel way, not an elaborate set of logical and metaphysical propositions. Erasmus thought little and cared less about sub-varieties of Aristotelianism, or about technical issues raised by Scotist differences with Thomism, or about the implications of Ockhamist divergences from the older systems. He was no philosopher but a scholar, a moralist, and a man of letters, extremely sensitive to language. Hence the significance of his reaction to the whole enterprise of Scholastic metaphysics and to dialectical methodology was that it expressed, often with brilliance, the mood of many educated and religious men who were temperamentally repelled by the severities of systematic speculation concerning what seemed unnecessary and unanswerable questions. He was the kind of scholar—a common enough kind as this world goes—

who is prepared to take enormous pains to advance learning but is unwilling or unable to examine first principles or ponder ultimate questions, and is impatient with analysis of them. Indeed the only sort of philosophy Erasmus and most other humanists cared much about was moral philosophy, ethics; and most of what most men need to know about ethics can be brought home to them more successfully through literature than through syllogisms. The answer, then, to the old question of "Should all Aquinas be forgot?" is, By no means; but take his books off the required-reading list; make the course optional; and encourage students to register for Greek instead.

Was this aversion to Thomas, Scotus, and the rest of the Scholastic tribe simply "anti-intellectualism"? A flight from rationalism to rhetoric? An avoidance of serious questions by taking refuge in epigram? In part, no doubt, it was. But we must say also that it was a sincere protest on behalf of feeling and imagination against presumed indifference to any but rationalistic considerations. It was the protest of a moralist who was reached, and who reached others, not by dialectic but aesthetic means,[65] by eloquence, by "good letters," by something "planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore." Renaissance humanists did not doubt that the principal office of literature was to serve moral truth. Art did not exist for its own sake. Spenser's explicit language about the moral purpose of the *Faerie Queene,* and Milton's about *Paradise Lost,* are too well known to need quotation and too decisive to be explained away. Sidney urges us in his *Apology for Poetry* to "believe, with Scaliger, that no philosopher's precepts can sooner make you an honest man than the reading of Virgil." Moral philosophers come to us, says Sidney, "with books in their hands against glory, whereto they set their names, sophistically speaking against subtlety, and angry with any man in whom they see the foul fault of anger. These men casting largesse as they go of definitions, divisions, and distinctions, with a scornful interrogative do soberly ask whether it be possible to find any path so ready to lead a man to virtue as that which teacheth what

virtue is. . . ."[66] Sidney himself believes, as Milton does, that the poet teaches. He teaches by *showing* us what virtue is. "It is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet" but the "feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with . . . delightful teaching."[67]

To Erasmus, the prose of Plato or Cicero was in every sense as eloquent and instructive as the poetry of Virgil. Whether the texts in question are Greek or Latin prose, or the sage and serious Spenser's English verse, their moral utility is essentially of the same order. And fundamentally the Miltonic, Sidneian, and Erasmian conceptions of the superiority of literary art, of eloquence, of imagination, to formal philosophy as a means of moving us to virtue and deterring us from vice, are of the same kind. For these reasons, the pages of *The Godly Feast* praising the ethical and didactic power of art and eloquence deserve to be included among those primary apologies for literature which we inherit from the Renaissance.

EE-Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, ed. P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen, H. W. Garrod, 1906-47. Cited by volume, page, and line.

LB-*Erasmi Opera Omnia,* ed. J. Clericus, 1703-6.

1. E.-W. Kohls, in *Theologische Zeitschrift,* XXII (1966), 96-121. For Allen's opinion, *EE,* I, 578.

2. Douglas Bush, *The Renaissance and English Humanism,* 1939, p. 62.

3. *The Godly Feast* is one of four convivia (along with *Profane, Poetic,* and *Fabulous Feasts*) in the *Colloquies.* A few pages of it appeared in the March, 1522, edition of the *Colloquies,* the rest a few months later. The March text has five speakers, with names borrowed probably from Erasmus' friends. In the next edition (in or near August, 1522), the first with complete text, these names were changed to artistically more appropriate ones and four more speakers were added. We now have: Eusebius, Timothy, Theophilus, Chrysoglottus, Uranius, Sophronius, Eulalius, Nephalius, and Theodidactus.

4. *New York Review of Books,* July 1, 1965, p. 13. James K. McConica's *English Humanists and Reformation Politics,* 1965, deals with the effects of this Erasmian humanism during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI.

5. *De Doctrina Christiana,* II, xvi, 23-26; xxix, 45-46.

6. *Ratio Verae Theologiae,* LB, V, 80A-B.

7. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XIV (1951), 37. The various works of art and simulated nature in *The Godly Feast* seem to be arranged in such a way as to help one recall, later, the moral truths they convey. (Cf. Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory,* 1966, ch. i.) Erasmus was interested in pictorialized nature both because he found it fascinating in itself and because it was endlessly useful for rhetorical, homiletic, and pedagogic purposes. Nature and art are both symbolic, and therefore instructive. The better one remembers their "notes" and symbolic applications, the more one will profit by them. But before he can interpret a text allegorically or symbolically, the exegete, according to Augustine, must understand the properties of the thing he seeks to explain. Therefore he should know natural history and the other sciences. Erasmus' remark about the logician and the crocodile is a quaint but sound example of Augustine's precept.

8. See the introduction to C. Reedijk's *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus,* 1956; and John Sparrow's essay, "Latin Verse of the High Renaissance," in *Italian Renaissance Studies,* ed. E. F. Jacob, 1960, pp. 354-409.

9. We may regard this colloquy as in some sense a memorial to Dean Colet, even though he is not named in it. There are obvious difficulties, but this conjecture has some evidence to support it. Erasmus emphasizes that all speakers are married laymen, but Colet was a cleric. Some of the speakers know Greek; Colet knew little Greek. Nor does the passage on "Saint Socrates" sound like Colet. Furthermore Colet's exegesis of Scripture was communicated formally in lectures or treatises, not informally. On the other hand, we cannot expect a dramatic dialogue to read like a biography or memoir of Colet (which Erasmus had written recently in a letter). As for Colet's being a cleric, yes, but we recall that he entrusted the management of St. Paul's School to laymen. As for ignorance of Greek, yes again, but he was trying to remedy this deficiency in his last years.

That Erasmus could have written this dialogue in 1522 without having Colet in mind seems improbable. His memoir of Colet (*EE,* IV, 514.245–527.630) is dated June, 1521. In the colloquy the guests hear and then dis-

cuss verses read from Proverbs and from Paul's letters. In the memoir we are told that after grace was said at Colet's table a servant would read a chapter from Proverbs or Paul's letters (IV, 516.312-314). The colloquy disparages Scotists. So too the memoir; and Erasmus adds that Colet was even more severe on Aquinas than on Scotus. Erasmus says he himself began to perceive Aquinas' weaknesses more clearly after hearing Colet's outbursts against him (IV, 515.274-276; 520.425-444).

Earlier in the same year, 1522, in which *The Godly Feast* appeared, Erasmus praised Colet by name in another colloquy, *Confabulatio Pia*. Here a model schoolboy (probably Thomas Lupset) answers questions about his behavior, studies, and religious opinions. These answers, framed in typically sensible Erasmian precepts of practical piety, were learned, the boy tells us, "in the household of that worthiest of men, John Colet." *The Godly Feast* introduces us to the kind of Christian gentleman such a boy ought to become when he grows up.

10. *Paraclesis,* LB, VI, *3 verso; and see *Supputatio Errorum . . . Beddae,* LB, IX, 552B–554B.

11. LB, VII, **2 verso. Harlots and bawds do know of Erasmus' New Testament: see the colloquy *Adolescentis et Scorti.*

12. *Ratio Verae Theologiae,* LB, V, 117A–126B; *Ecclesiastes,* LB, V, 1051E–1056E.

13. *EE,* V, 6.43-56.

14. *Ecclesiastes,* LB, V, 1034C–1037B. As for the distinction between typology and allegory: "Quae facta narrantur ut aliud significent, typos ac figuras appellamus: ut serpens aeneus in stipite pendens, typus fuit Christi sublati in crucem in salutem omnium credentium; allegoria magis sita est in doctrina ac praeceptis, cuius generis fere sunt, quae lex Mosis praecepit de aedificando templo, de vestitu sacerdotium, de ritibus sacrificiorum, de circumcisione, deque cibis mundis et immundis. Caeterum quod ad tractationem attinet, eadem est ratio typorum et allegoriarum" (LB, V, 1043B). On the brazen serpent, cf. 1045E.

15. *Ecclesiastes,* LB, V, 1043A-B.

16. *Ibid.,* LB, V, 1038E–1041C, 1028D; *Ratio Verae Theologiae,* LB, V, 127B-E.

17. *Ecclesiastes,* LB, V, 1029C.

18. *Ibid.,* LB, V, 1044A, D. Cf. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana,* III, x *et seq.* Much of what Erasmus says about interpretation comes directly or indirectly from Augustine—as we should have expected.

19. *Enchiridion,* LB, V, 29B-F; *Adagia,* LB, II, 773C-E.

20. *Ecclesiastes,* LB, V, 1044B, C. But allegorizing of the Laban and Jacob story can be overdone; for example, by Augustine (1050A–1051A).

21. *Enchiridion,* LB, V, 8D-E, and see 9A.

22. *Ecclesiastes,* LB, V, 1036E, 1045E, 1046F–1048B. See the entire passage on allegorical interpretation, 1028D–1051E. The assertion in the *Cambridge History of the Bible,* ed. S. L. Greenslade, 1963, p. 82, that those who came after Erasmus "could not return again to allegorizing" is a partial truth at best. If the statement means that henceforth exegetes could not indulge in speculative allegorizing uncontrolled by linguistic scholarship, very well, for that sort of interpretation was one of Erasmus' objections to earlier commentators. But he certainly did not abandon allegorical interpretation, nor did he believe it could or should be abandoned; on the contrary he stressed its legitimacy and, for some parts of the Bible, its necessity.

23. Mediaeval commentators, that is. He and the other speakers refer now and then to Ambrose, Jerome, and Theophylact but never to mediaeval exegetes. Erasmus was familiar with these, as his notes to the New Testament show, but he seldom trusted them.

24. *De Libero Arbitrio,* LB, IX, 1237B.

25. *De Servo Arbitrio; Luthers Werke in Auswahl,* ed. O. Clemen, 1950-55, III, 245.30–246.21.

26. *Institutio Christianae Religionis,* I, xviii, 2; II, iv, 7.

27. Cf. *EE,* III, 579.10-11; IV, 57.41-42; V, 365.11-13; VII, 456.24-25; VIII, 114.242-243; XI, 220.130.

28. *Declarationes ad Censuras,* LB, IX, 934D–935B.

29. *Ratio Verae Theologiae,* LB, V, 131B–132A; cf. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana,* III, xxviii, 39.

30. *Ratio Verae Theologiae,* LB, V, 128A-C.

31. *English Works,* 1931, II, 11.

32. *Declarationes ad Censuras,* LB, IX, 889D-E; *Enchiridion,* LB, V, 33A–39A; *De Esu Carnium,* LB, IX, 1197A–1214E.

33. *Declarationes ad Censuras,* LB, IX, 934B-D.

34. See the colloquy *Ichthyophagia.*

35. In his notes to the New Testament, Erasmus confines his remarks on I Corinthians 6, as on so many other passages, mainly to textual and linguistic topics. His *Paraphrases* are illuminating on this chapter, however, and in many writings he resumes the contrast between Gospel liberty and Mosaic law. Basically there is no conflict between Eulalius' interpretation and Colet's in his lectures on I Corinthians (ed. J. H. Lupton, 1874, pp. 190-191, 230-231), but Colet's is less detailed and specific; he does not concentrate on verse 12, nor does he adduce passages from other chapters so often or so tellingly as Erasmus does in *The Godly Feast.* Furthermore I suspect that Erasmus, who is so impatient with Thomas Aquinas and other Scholastics because they presumed to comment on Paul when they knew no Greek, could not forget that Colet, despite all his virtues, was almost Greekless when he wrote his lectures on Romans and Corinthians. A few years before his death he began to work at Greek (*EE,* II, 347.11-15; 351.27; cf. Lupton's *Life,* 1961 reprint, p. 67), but how much progress he made we do not know.

36. Louis Bouyer, *Autour d'Erasme,* 1955, p. 169.

37. For all citations in this paragraph see my edition of Erasmus' *Inquisitio de Fide,* 1950, pp. 101-121. I should add that evidence in a Copenhagen manuscript appears to demonstrate that the famous sentence "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis" was not part of Erasmus' original text but an afterthought. I owe this information to Dr. C. Reedijk, whose important study of Copenhagen manuscripts of Erasmus' writings will be published shortly in *Studia Bibliographica in Honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam).

38. It is one of the curiosities of intellectual history that the degradation of a name once synonymous with mental acuteness was completed in the so-called Age of Reason, when Pope could entitle his famous satire *The Dunciad.* "Dunce" as "dullard," "pedant," "fool " seems to have occurred first in the Elizabethan reign (OED).

39. As Gilson observes, "Les critiques de la théologie scolastique aux xve et xvie siècles ne diront pas rien contre elle que Gerson n'en ait déjà dit" (*La philosophie au moyen age,* third edition, 1947, p. 717). Gerson's *Contra Curiositatem Studentium* is an example. See n. 58, below.

40. Scholastic curricula, texts, and methods did not soon decline and dis-

appear, either in Paris or elsewhere, as a result of this mood. Far from it. They continued for a long time in Italian universities side by side and at times in rivalry with humanistic pursuits. See P. O. Kristeller's important studies, especially those collected in his *Renaissance Thought,* 1961, and *Renaissance Thought II,* 1965. Separate sets of lectures for Thomists and Scotists were common in the fifteenth-century universities (cf. H. A. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 1936, I, 247 n.). For the new university of Alcalá, founded at the beginning of the sixteenth century, professorships of Thomistic, Scotist, and Nominalist philosophy were provided. A reformed Scholasticism had brilliant exponents in sixteenth-century Spain. Aristotle, the *fons et origo* of Scholastic logic, was the weightiest name in the curriculum of Elizabethan Cambridge, as he had been in the Cambridge of Erasmus, although texts of Thomas, Scotus, and Peter Lombard had been banished from Oxford and Cambridge by official decree in 1535. Despite attacks by reformers (Luther, for example, as in *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation; Luthers Werke in Auswahl,* ed. O. Clemen, 1950-55, I, 412.26–413.3), Aristotle could not easily or quickly be dislodged from the universities.

41. He once wrote (1529) that he had begun the reading of logic, physics, metaphysics, and ethics at the age of eleven (*Responsio Adversus Febricitantis Cuiusdam Libellum,* LB, X, 1680C-D), a boast we need not take too literally. Apparently he began while still at Steyn, certainly before going to Paris, his *Antibarbari,* but since this work survives only in a later, revised form, we do not know what the original text had to say about Scholastic Latinity and barbarity.

42. He seems to have known Poggio, Filelfo, Balbi, Guarino, Valla, and no doubt others (*EE,* I, 107.73-76; 108.101; 113.45; 116.23). On his reading of the classics, *EE,* I, 99.97-101.

43. On Valla, *ibid.,* I, 99.101-103; 107.74; 108.100–109.110; 110.25-30; 113.39-43; 119.18–120.51; 407-412; IX, 98-99.

44. See the paper by Hanna H. Gray in *Essays in History and Literature . . . Presented to Stanley Pargellis,* 1965, pp. 37-51. The text of the encomium (reprinted from *Vierteljahrschrift für Kultur und Litteratur,* I, 1886) is included in Valla's *Opera Omnia,* ed. Eugenio Garin, 1962, II, 346-352. Erasmus certainly knew this work in later years (LB, VI, 707E). For Valla's reaction to Thomas' commentary on Paul see his *Annotationes* to the New Testament, *Opera Omnia* (ed. Garin), I, 865.

45. Erasmus' friend John Amerbach, the Basel printer, writes in 1501 to two sons then studying at the University of Paris: "When I sent you to Paris, I intended that you should study the Scotist philosophy if that still flourished, but I hear it's gone out of fashion." A Franciscan friend of Amerbach's, writing to the boys, deplores their attendance upon "Ockhamist trifles" instead of following Scotist doctrine (*Amerbachkorrespondenz,* ed. A. Hartmann, 1942 *et seq.,* I, 120.11-12; 152.14-20).

46. A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris,* second edition, 1953, pp. 268-269.

47. *Ibid.,* pp. 129, 135, 274-275. The passage in Augustine is *De Doctrina Christiana,* II, xxxvii, 55.

48. A *baccalarius cursor* or *baccalarius biblicus* lectured on the Bible for a year, on another book for a second year, attended disputations, and at the end of three years beyond his first baccalaureate became *baccalarius sententiarius.* Then he lectured on the *Sentences;* after nine months of this work he

could expect to proceed to the third bachelor's degree, becoming *baccalarius formatus* (Rashdall, I, 477-479; *EE,* I, 146). Erasmus' colloquy *Funus* has an amusing reference to "a full-fledged bachelor," *baccalarius formatus.*

49. *EE,* I, 432.6.

50. *Ibid.,* I, 58.65-67; 37.14-16; *Apologia ad Sanctium Caranzam,* LB, IX, 402D-E.

51. *EE,* I, 50.111-113; 190.1–192.82.

52. *Erasmi Opuscula,* ed. W. K. Ferguson, 1933, p. 191.

53. *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam,* Basel, 1936, pp. 238-244.

54. *Briefwechsel* (Weimar edition), I, 301.19–302.20; 158.38-40; *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* (*Luthers Werke in Auswahl,* ed. O. Clemen, 1950-55, I, 412.41–413.3).

55. *EE,* IV, 520.429-444.

56. *Ratio Verae Theologiae,* LB, V, 78E-F; *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum,* LB, VI, **3, 554E, 707E-F, 777E, 791C, 890D, 933C-D, 1017D-E, 1020F; *Apologia in Dialogum Latomi,* LB, IX, 86E-F; *EE,* IV, 315.254–316.272; 441.114-121. A rumor (1520) that Erasmus had once said he profited more from one page of Luther than from all of Thomas Aquinas (*EE,* IV, 340.30 n.) is hardly credible.

57. "Quale vero spectaculum est, theologum octogenarium nihil aliud sapere quam mera sophismata, et ad extremum usque vitae nihil aliud quam argutari? Nam huiusmodi non paucos vidimus olim Lutetiae, quibus si quid depromendum fuisset ex Paulo, videbantur sibi prorsus in alium mundum translati" (*Ratio Verae Theologiae,* LB, V, 137A). Erasmus sardonically contrasts Scotist subtlety with the simple sincerity of the apostles. Paul could exhibit faith and charity admirably, but he defines and divides them with little dialectical skill in I Corinthians 13. The apostles consecrated the Eucharist devoutly, but would have been no match for the Scotists if examined on *terminus a quo* or *terminus ad quem,* or on transubstantiation. They baptized, yet they had no doctrines about the formal, efficient, material, and final causes of baptism (*Moriae Encomium,* LB, IV, 466A-C).

As a rule, Erasmus avoids blaming Aristotle for the shortcomings of the schoolmen's Aristotelianism, but this restraint was not always easy for a sensitive writer beleaguered by academic and ecclesiastical critics. In a moment of petulance he can ask, "Quid commercii Christo et Aristoteli? quid sophisticis captiunculis cum aeternae sapientiae mysteriis? quorsum tot quaestionum labirynthi? inter quas quam multae sunt ociosae, quam multae pestilentes, vel hoc ipso quod contentiones et dissidia pariunt!" But he goes on to say that he does not condemn the legitimate activities of philosophy as such; what he deplores is its injurious effects on religion. More attention is paid to the pronouncements of Scholastic philosophers than to the precepts of Christ (*EE,* II, 101.413-416; 102.425-429).

In the preface to an edition of Aristotle, 1531, addressed to More's son John, he refers to Aristotle as "totius philosophiae princeps et consummator" (*ibid.,* IX, 134.54-55). Nowhere does he indicate that he thinks any texts but those of Aristotle should be the basis of training in logic and natural philosophy.

58. Cf. LB, V, 76F–77A. *Curiositas* as a besetting vice of intellectuals had been reproved by reformers since Bernard of Clairvaux. Gerson's *Contra Curiositatem Studentium* (1402) is typical in its complaints: "Curiositas est vitium quo dimissis utilioribus homo convertit studium suum ad minus utilia

vel inattingibilia sibi vel noxia"; "Signum curiosae singularitatis est fastidire doctrinas resolutas et plene discussas, et ad ignotas vel non examinatas velle converti"; "Mavult enim curiositas quaerere invenienda quam inventa cum veneratione studiosa intelligere" (*Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. Glorieux, 1960 et seq., III, 230, 238).

Sniping at Scholastic theologians, especially Scotists, is a favorite sport with Erasmus. Here and there he gives specific examples of what he means by their *curiositas* and useless questions. One of the most familiar of these passages is in *Moriae Encomium* (see preceding note). Much less familiar, but more interesting because it contains more specimens and appears in a wholly serious context, is a note (LB, VI, 926D–928D) on I Timothy 1:6, "in vaniloquium," εἰς ματαιολογίαν. A translation may be of use:

"*Mataeologia* is not very different from *theologia* in sound, but their meanings are far apart. Therefore we must beware of pursuing theology in such a manner that we fall into mataeology, contending incessantly over trifles. Let us discuss, rather, the things that turn us into new creatures in Christ and render us acceptable to heaven. What is the use of fighting over how many ways 'sin' is taken: whether it is merely a deprivation or a stain clinging to the soul? Rather, let the theologian so treat this that everyone may hate and dread sin. We dispute for whole ages whether the grace with which God loves us and invites us is the same grace with which we in turn love him, and whether it is something created or uncreated. Rather, let us by undefiled prayers, purity of life, and righteous acts endeavor to deserve God's gift. We contend incessantly over what distinguishes the Father from the Son and each of them from the Holy Spirit, a condition or a relation; and how they can be said to be three when none of them is another, since they are one essence. How much more relevant to try our utmost to cherish and worship reverently and devoutly that triad whose majesty it is not lawful to search out; and, so far as in us lies, to imitate the ineffable union by our own concord, that we may some day be admitted to its fellowship. We dispute about how it is possible that although the fire by which souls of the wicked are tortured is material fire, it affects an incorporeal substance. How much more urgent to try with all our might to prevent that fire's finding *us* fit for burning—whatever kind of fire it is!

"If these topics were debated for the sake of mental gymnastics, or without rancor, they would be unobjectionable. Now an entire lifetime is spent in certain questions of this sort, leading to uproar, to actual quarrels, to insults, sometimes to blows. What a multitude of questions we stir up over baptism, over Communion, over the sacrament of penance! Some of them are of such kind that they are hardly worth knowing, and can be so stated that they can neither be proved or disproved. It would be more to the point to exert ourselves, and urge one another, to respond to the sacrament of baptism by a life acceptable to Christ; to approach those holy Suppers frequently and sincerely; to shun lives filled with what must be burned away by the fire of penance. What should I say of trumpery questions not merely time-consuming but (I was tempted to add) irreverent, which we propound concerning the power of God, the power of the Roman Pontiff? Whether God can ordain any evil whatever, even hatred of himself; and forbid every good, even love and worship of himself. Whether by his act he can make what is infinite in measure. Whether from eternity he could have made this a better world than he did. Whether he can create a man incapable of sinning. Whether he can

reveal to someone his future sin or damnation. Whether he can understand things distinctly without taking distinct account of them. Whether he can bring about relation without foundation or limit. Whether he can make and preserve universal Nature without singulars. Whether he can be comprised in any category. Whether he can impart the power of creating to a creature. Whether he can undo something done and thus make a virgin of a whore. Whether a divine Person can take on any nature whatever, as the Word took on human nature. Whether three Persons can take on the same nature at the same time. Whether one created subject can take on another created nature. Whether this proposition, 'God is a beetle,' or 'a gourd,' is as possible as 'God is a man.' Whether God took on human individuality or species. Whether it is more fitting for God to be incapable of performing the impossible or for the impossible to be beyond the power of God. Whether it is more fitting for God to be capable of creating or for a creature to be capable of being created. Whether there are ideas of all things in the divine mind, and whether these are practical or speculative. Whether it is agreeable to Aristotelian doctrine and to natural reason—in short, whether reality compels acknowledgment—that there is an aspect which is distinct absolutely from all things. Whether God is one by reason of his own distinctiveness. Whether the divine Persons are correctly called three in number. Whether the number of Persons in divinity pertains to substance or to relation. And whether to first or second intention. Whether they are both differentiated and constituted by relations. Whether the Father begets the Son and the Holy Spirit by means of intellect or will. Likewise whether by means of essence or attribute, naturally or freely. Whether essence in the Father is the generative origin of the Son, and whether there is a limit to Paternal generation. Whether God begets God. Whether the Father produces the Holy Spirit antecedently to the Son. Whether in God there is active and possible intellect. Whether the Holy Spirit proceeding from Father and Son originates from one source or two. Whether this proposition, 'God the Father hates God the Son,' is possible. Whether the mind of Christ could deceive, or be deceived, or lie.

"In point of fact, men are at least as busy arguing about the pope's authority as about God's, while we inquire into his double prerogative and whether he can abrogate what is prescribed in apostolic writings. Whether he can ordain something at variance with evangelical teaching. Whether he can establish a new article in the Apostles' Creed. Whether he has authority equal to Peter's, or greater. Whether he can command angels. Whether he can abolish what is called universal purgatory. Whether he is mere man, or as it were a God, or (with Christ) shares each nature. Whether he is more merciful than Christ was, since it is not recorded that Christ released anyone from the punishments of purgatory. Whether the pope alone, of all men, is infallible.

"Six hundred questions of this kind are argued in big published books by big theologians, especially those conspicuous as professed religious. And not without plain suspicion of flattery is this done, nor without offense to Christ; for compared to him, what are princes, however mighty, but worms? Or do they imagine that these topics are pleasing to Leo, our authentic and true Vicar of Christ, who as a true shepherd prizes nothing more highly than the welfare of the Christian flock, as true Vicar of Christ holds nothing more dear than the glory of Christ his king? And yet the schools of some theologians labor earnestly over questions of this kind. Time, the most evanescent of all things, is wasted on them, since most of the questions are such that they are

more learnedly misknown than known, are foolishly asked and rashly defined. Life is short; and to lead a truly Christian life is an arduous task. Putting trifles aside, then, let us concentrate most of all on those matters which Christ wanted us to know, which the apostles proclaimed, which emphasize charity, a pure heart, a good conscience, and a faith not vain; which Paul calls the sole end and consummation of the entire Law. We quibble so many years in the schools over which terms ought to be used about Christ. Whether this proposition is true: 'Christ existed from eternity'; whether he is correctly said to be 'composed' of each nature, or to 'consist' or to be *conflatus* or *commixtus* or *conglutinatus* or *coagmentatus* or *ferruminatus* or *copulatus*. None of these is acceptable; only a new term, 'united,' will do, even though nothing expresses less than this word what it was intended to express. Moreover if it were asked whether we say properly that human nature is 'united' with the divine, they say yes. Again, if it is asked whether we say properly that the divine is united with the human, they are in doubt.

"If these were the afternoon conversations of Christians, I would recommend that inane talk be kept out of such chats. Nowadays they seem the safeguards of our faith! We inquire about things we cannot know and are not commanded to know. We neglect those which were the only ones to be pondered. And there are some that are dangerous because their obscurity taxes and exhausts the mind, which ought to be busy with better subjects. Such, I believe, was the philosophy of Pythagoras. And on this account also the books of Heraclitus are criticized by the pagans; Socrates said jokingly that for these you would 'need a Delian swimmer.' Certainly Chrysostom condemns Plato's philosophy for this reason, because it is complicated by numbers and puzzles: as ruinous as a fine gaming-board impeding a man in his flight from battle. Yet almost as bad are the pronouncements of those who boast of their knowledge of fine points of theology; who, though they proclaim truths, explain them in words not merely unpolished but so obscured and tangled that they are not worth learning in that form. This is what your theologians are like when they debate the four 'instants' of Nature. Likewise when they argue that *persona* does not have reference to source, nor to a general but a double negation of 'communicability' *in genere,* not *extra genus,* and connotes something positive and is a word of first, not second, intention. Likewise when they say the divine Persons are mutually *in se* through 'circumincession'—a novel term, to be sure, which they define in a novel way. 'Circumincession,' they tell us, is *subsistentis in subsistente realiter distincto, mutua praesentialitatis assistentia in eadem essentia.* Again, when they define, 'personal or hypostatic union' is *relatio disquiparantiae realis quidem in uno extremo, cui in altero nulla realis ratio respondet.* Likewise the union of the Word in Christ is *relatio extrinsecus adveniens, terminata ad verbum et fundata in assumpta humanitate,* and this is *relatio non dependentis ad causam effectivam sed sustentificati ad sustentificans.*

"Nonsense of this sort is found everywhere among them. And in this far from simple theology men who profess a simple, apostolic life spend a whole lifetime. Those who by their very name avow the greatest humility show conceit in their profession of this kind of philosophy. How does avowal of an apostolic life agree with so much fanatical zeal for heathen philosophy? The mouth is consecrated to the gospel—and it babbles of nothing but Averroes and Aristotle! To touch money is something dreadful—and yet an entire life is passed among books of a blasphemous philosopher! The ancients, who learned such things in heathendom or through the ignorance of their times,

culled some for the use of Christian education. Nowadays those who profess the simple candor of Christ and are nurtured to preach the gospel, must learn things of this sort! I knew a certain theologian who swore that nine years were not enough to comprehend what Scotus wrote merely in the preface to his commentary on Peter Lombard. Another I heard of insisted it was impossible to understand a single proposition in the whole of Scotus unless you knew his complete metaphysics by heart. By endless mazes of this sort did Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion trap the minds of unsuspecting folk.

"Finally, let us suppose these *are* fruitful themes: how great a clash of opinions occurs over them! Let us suppose they all agree: how many are asked in vain, how many recklessly defined! And it is pretended these subtleties are essential for refuting pagans and heretics, although they were never of any use at all except among colleagues of the same school. My purpose in saying all this is not to condemn dialectic and philosophy as subjects of study in the schools, but I denounce the excessive labor spent on trifles. . . ."

59. Cf. *EE,* III, 364.80–365.10; IV, 315.261–316.267.

60. *Ibid.,* IV, 103.120-121, 150-153; 105.221–106.243.

61. *Paraclesis,* LB, VI, **3. Cf. Gerson, *Contra Curiositatem Studentium:* "Apud multorum curiositatem tanta est iudicii corruptio, qualem in me alias fuisse non nego, quod Latinitas aliqua vel stylus eo iudicetur pulchrior quo difficilior, et quo turgidior et ex consequenti vitiosior eo elegantior appareat, cum longe aliter sit" (*Oeuvres complètes,* ed. P. Glorieux, 1960 *et seq.,* III, 247).

62. *Ratio Verae Theologiae,* LB, V, 137B. "Denique satis invictus fueris theologus si nulli succumbas vitio, nullis cedas cupiditatibus, etiamsi a contentiosa disputatione discesseris inferior. Abunde magnus doctor est, qui pure docet Christum. Si turpe ducunt, nescire quid definiat Scotus, turpius est nescire quid decernat Christus. Si parum theologicum est, non adsequi quae scripsit Durandus, minus theologicum est non adsequi quae scripsit Paulus. A divinis oraculis nomen habet theologus, non ab humanis opinionibus" (V, 138B).

63. Scholia on Jerome's letters, revised edition, 1524-26, II, 154, 150.

64. *EE,* V, 192.913-929. Cf. *Ratio Verae Theologiae,* LB, V, 82A–84E.

65. *Ibid.,* LB, V, 117C-E, on parables.

66. *Renaissance England,* ed. Roy Lamson and Hallett Smith, 1956, pp. 308, 279.

67. *Ibid.,* pp. 277, 278, 304. Erasmus held that *all* of Homer and Virgil must be interpreted allegorically: "Ita non parum utilis est Homerica Virgilianaque poesis si memineris eam totam esse allegoricam" (*Enchiridion,* LB, V, 7F; and see 29A-B).

VIII

The Mediaeval Minstrel

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As I stand before you this afternoon and see in the audience Professor Gustave Reese, Dr. R. W. Southern, Sir Steven Runciman, and others, I wonder where I found the courage to lecture to you on the subject of the mediaeval minstrel. I take comfort in the fact that I am perhaps more familiar than most of you with *romanz,* the vernacular language of the time. My feelings now are somewhat like those I had in the autumn of 1955 when I addressed an audience at Oxford University, on the Judaeo-Christian origins of the Holy Grail. In the fourth row in front of me were Professor R. S. Loomis and Mrs. Laura Hibbard Loomis; between them was Professor Idris Llewellyn Foster of Jesus College. All three were renowned *Celtisants*; I expected to be slain without much ado and boiled in one of their Irish cauldrons of plenty. My heart beat was 110, and it is normally not higher than 60. To my relief Mr. and Mrs. Loomis left immediately after I had finished, without saying a word, and Professor Foster whispered to me the next day that he had some sympathy with my point of view.

A twentieth-century person must be put into the right frame of mind to appreciate the mediaeval minstrel. You are accustomed to much entertainment: television, movies (or cinema, as you may wish to call it), concert series, drama societies, lending libraries, and even Ed Sullivan, so that a desire for narrative, song, and spectacle does not get a chance to trouble you. For men in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in France and England, the situation was completely different. (You will note that when I speak of the Middle

Ages I always have in mind the era of the twelfth-century Renaissance in England and France). These people found their edification and better type of amusement at the Church festivals. When they wanted something naughtier they could listen to the strolling minstrels and other similar performers—or more often they took to rolling dice.

The minstrels were public entertainers, and they were of different kinds. A large number of them performed what we call circus acts.[1] This latter group will be given some attention at the close of this lecture. We assume that most of you now present are concerned with narrative poetry and with music; so we begin with those who recited and those who played musical instruments of the softer kind. We will say little about *histriones* or actors who recited monologues and took part in dialogues with elaborate gestures, because these belong to the history of the theater. Gerald the Welshman spoke of their gestures[2] and, among others, Alexander Neckam has something to say about their costumes.[3] Many of the minstrels dressed quite outlandishly. One of the continental versions of the *Beuve de Hantone* shows Josiane disguised as a minstrel. She seems to have on male clothing (split in front and behind) with a belt, but on all her fingers are rings set with stones—the rings resembling Saracen gold, bright and clear. In a loud voice she calls out, "Now listen to me, knights and serjants, girls, ladies, and children—to a new tune from the land of the Franks. . . ."[4] They liked incongruity: badly mixed colors, and hair of a peculiar cut. Today we would say that they tended to be "far out."

[At this point were shown a few slides, grouped here rather than interspersed throughout the hour.]

The entertainers had itchy feet and moved from town to town, castle to castle, with their instruments, often in a case, slung over the shoulder. Those who could play scraped away on *vieles* (little fiddles), or plucked on zithers of various kinds held before them (*rotes*, psaltries, cithars), or on lyres and harps. There were some who blew through Pan pipes

(*fresteles*), three-hole pipes, six-hole (*flajuels*), eight-hole flutes, shawms (with open reed), bagpipes of two kinds, and horns; some beat on big and little drums, or on bells, tambourines, and cymbals. We must not omit the hurdy-gurdy or *organistre,* played with a rosined wheel which turned, and the *symphonia,* whatever that might be.[5] Facsimiles of some of these instruments are often played today, especially by the Pro Musica group organized by the late Noah Greenberg; yet you cannot learn from them precisely how these instruments sounded to the mediaeval ear. Standard of performance and perfection of instrument making are much superior today.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, instrument making saw astounding progress. Some of the old names for musical instruments then began to be applied to inferior varieties. The Cotgrave *Dictionarie of the French and Englysh Tongues,* published in 1611, defines the *viele* at that time as "A rude, or harsh-sounding instrument of Musicke, usually played on by base fiddlers, and blind men." This was the century that went on to produce the violin masterpieces of Niccolò Amati and Antonio Stradavari. Cotgrave calls the *frestele* "A kind of whistle which the Sowgelders of France usually carry with them." It is possible from many sources to get an accurate description of the mediaeval *viele,* though none has survived. For instance, on the architrave of the great portal of Saint-Pierre in Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne) there are represented the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse. This architrave can be seen better, at eye level, in a full-sized reproduction at the Musée de Chaillot at Paris. Each old man has a *viele* in his hand, and the twenty-four instruments are identical, while being held at different angles. The instruments all have three strings. We could cite in this connection the master works on musical instruments by Curt Sachs and Alexander Buchmann; but from our point of view it seems that these books are more concerned with the Orient and with instruments from exotic places than they are with the Romanesque period in western Europe.[6]

In order to bring the common jongleur of this period more

quickly into focus, I will begin by reading from the First Branch of the *Roman de Renart,* which, according to Lucien Foulet, was composed in 1177-78.[7] The author is presumably Pierre de Saint-Cloud, who must have been a renegade priest indulging in strong satire; but satire, even when much exaggerated, can give a homely view of what the people thought and saw. The humor in this passage which I read lies largely in the fact that Renart is pretending to be a minstrel from England. He talks in a broken English-French. This mixed language can be instructive in various ways. It pictures how a Middle English speaker could "murder" the king's French—the French of Louis VII—and it describes the capabilities of a minstrel. It will be best for us to render this into a kind of pidgin English, keeping to the rhythm and idiom of the original pidgin French as much as possible. Renart has been declared an outlaw, and he can be killed on sight. Naturally Renart is a little nervous. He has jumped into a dyer's vat, by chance, and has been tinted a lovely canary yellow. He thinks he will not be recognized, and this proves to be the case. His worst enemy, Ysengrim the wolf, does not know who he is. As the wolf approaches, Renart says with some trepidation:

"I will talk to him whatever happens, and I will get some news about the Court."

[Then he gets an idea. He will change his way of speaking. Ysengrim looks in his direction and at the sight of the unfamiliar canary-colored beast he raises his paw and crosses himself more than a hundred times. He too is terrified and almost runs away. Renart speaks first.]

"Godehelpe, fine sir. Me no savvy your talk [*Non saver point ton reson dire*]."

Ysengrim replies, "God save you, friend! Where do you come from? What country? You were not born in France and you are not anyone we know?"

"Nay, sir, but from Britain. Me did lose all my money; me did look for my friend; me not find one can show me. All France and all Engelonde me have looked for friend to find. Now been so

long this country me have learned all about France. Me wish go back, go back Paris first, for have learned all about French language."

"Do you know any trade?"

"Ya, ya, I be much good minstrel [*ge fot molt bon jogler*], but yesterday I be robbed, beat, and my *viele* be took away. Me have *viele,* me know sing good *rotruel,* fine *lai,* and good tune for you who look like nice fella. Not have eat two whole days; now would like eat."

"What's your name?"

"Me do have name Galopin. And you sir nice fella, how call?"

"Brother, they call me Ysengrim."

"You born this country?"

"Yes, I have lived here many a day."

"You know sump'n about king? . . . You not got *viele?* I like serve everybody with my trade [*Je fot servir molt volentier tote la gent de ma mestier*]. Me know good Breton lai, 'bout Merlin, 'bout Noton, 'bout King Arthur, 'bout Tristran—Chievrefueil —'bout Saint Brandan."

"And do you know the lai of Dame Iseut?"

"Ya, ya, Goditoet, me know all them."

Ysengrim remarks,

"You are very talented [*prous*] and you know a lot, I think. But by the faith which I owe King Arthur, if you should see, God help you, a red-headed scoundrel of filthy parts, a liar, a traitor, who loves nobody, who deceives and tricks everyone . . . may God grant that I can get my hands on him . . . he would die right away. The king gave me permission; he even commanded it."

Some of the most amusing lines come next about the name of this unsavory character. These we must pass over. Renart then says in his "bad" French:

"He be in bad fix if you find him. By faith you owe holy martyr St. Thomas of Cantorbury, not for all the gold God has do me wish look like him."

"Apollin [a "Saracen" god] would not save you, nor all the gold on earth. . . . Now tell me, sweet friend, about this minstrel

trade which you have, could you use it at Court, so that no other minstrel could beat you out?"

"By my lord St. Jursalem, never was such minstrel like me."

"Then come along with me and I will have you know the king, and my lady the queen, who is a real nice girl [*qui tant par est gente meschine*]. If you want to come to Court I'll have you hired there."

"*Fotre merci*—T'anks!—me know much good tippling and know much 'bout lechery. Me will be much appreciated at Court. If could have *viele* me would say fine *rotruel,* sing verse of *chançon* for you, who do seem nice fella."

Ysengrim then remembers a peasant who has a *viele* hanging on a nail in his hut. The two go to steal it, and converse along the way. Ysengrim speaks "en son françois"—Renart answers him "en englois." At this point we must abridge. They take the *viele* and Renart runs off with it. Ysengrim is castrated by the peasant's dog during the proceedings. Within two weeks Renart manages to master completely the playing of the *viele.* He next comes upon a poor animal, Poncet, who is seeking to marry his [Renart's] wife. The couple think Renart has been hanged. The bridegroom needs a priest and a minstrel—both are necessary to get the wedding properly celebrated. Renart admits that "he be good minstrel," knows lots of songs, and that he has studied at Besançon.[8] He will be grateful for the job:

"Me know good song 'bout Ogier, 'bout Olivant and Rollier, 'bout Charlemagne with white flesh."

Please note these distortions. Pierre de Saint Cloud is taking a dig at Oliver and Roland, and at Charlemagne with "la barbe chanue," the white beard. Probably Pierre de Saint Cloud was weary from hearing the *Roland* recited, and he knew that many others could laugh about it with him.

There is no need to quote further from the *Roman de Renart,* no matter how delightful we may find it. Some facts are evident from what we have translated: an average minstrel needed a musical instrument; he was accustomed to "living

high" when he had a good permanent position, as at Court; and he had a large repertoire that he could recite from memory. Evidently a minstrel from England was expected to sing about King Arthur, Tristran, Merlin, and Iseut, the *Chievrefueil* of Marie de France, and Saint Brandan. Noton we cannot identify. This English minstrel was no Celt.

The minstrel was essential for a wedding. He remained outside the church door and escorted the bridal pair to their home, walking and playing in front of them. In the *Amis et Amiles* epic the lady Lubias is escorted to Mass this way.[9] In 1960 my wife and I were in India. We rode an elephant up the hill to the Rajah's ancient palace outside Jaipur. There was a man with a fiddle of sorts who walked ahead of us, playing vigorously. We were embarrassed and tried to stop him, when we were told that it had been customary to escort rajahs in this way, and that this was very high-class.

Ysengrim implies that the English minstrel will enjoy the lechery at the Court. This is a reputation that performers have had through all the centuries, and in the Middle Ages it seems to have been a correct one. In the *Moniage Guillaume* a thief makes observations on the lack of responsibility of a minstrel:

> When they have three *sous,* or four or five, they rush to the tavern to spend them, and they have a good time as long as the money lasts—with good, savory wine and pleasant meats. When the tavernkeeper sees that all is spent he says, "Brother, get some other place to stay, for merchants will be stopping here. Give me a deposit on what you owe." The minstrel leaves his stockings or his shoes, or his *viele* when it comes to the worst. . . . When he is out the door he looks for some place to recoup, from a knight, a priest, or an abbot. The minstrels have strange ways about them. They sing just as well to get a dinner, as they would to receive forty marks.[10]

Many mediaeval writers have written on this venality of the minstrel, including John of Salisbury.[11] Alexander Neckam has an amusing observation. He comments on the excessive pride of many noble barons. He adds that many of

them have no right to their haughtiness, for they are offspring of minstrels who have been too free with the noble ladies.[12] There is a good passage in *Garin de Monglane* of the late thirteenth century, where the hero Garin feels footloose and is looking for female company of the lighter sort:

At the entrance to a wood he met a jolly minstrel who had but little money and who was carrying his *viele,* on which he played attractively. Garin said to him in a loud voice, "Friend, whence do you come? Don't keep it from me. By my oath, you look like a good companion who takes pleasure quite frequently. Do you know a good-looking lady in these parts who would like to have a love affair—lightly?" The minstrel replied, "One may have a lot of this if he knows how to talk to them boldly. If a lady refuses, one should then pursue her vigorously—to keep begging a girl who defends herself soon pays off [*c'est tantost avisee*]."

To put it bluntly, one naturally made use of a minstrel to find a light companion; he knew lots of people too. Garin on this occasion got what was coming to him. This minstrel, named *Rogier li gentius,* suggested a *really* nice lady who became the reason for most of the blood shed in combat during the remaining eight thousand lines of the epic. Eventually Garin married her.[13]

We give another illustration which narrates the routine of a purely instrumental player. This is from *Huon de Bordeaux.* The protagonist Hue has lost all his clothes while struggling in the water.

Underneath a tree he found a man who was as we shall describe him. He had a harp on which he could play, and a *viele.* There was not another minstrel so good in all the pagan land. He had spread a cloth before him and on this he had four loaves of fine bread and a skin of claret wine. . . . He poured this wine into his cup but he would not taste it; he was weeping bitterly. When he saw Hue, naked as the day he was born, he was frightened. He called out, "Wild man, don't hurt me."

"By my faith, I am quite wild," said Hue, "but I won't touch you. Please give me some of your bread."

"You shall have it. I am sorry for you. Find in my pack an

ermine-sleeved garment and a mantle of scarlet, with lining. Cover your flesh. You have good need for this. Then sit down, drink this fine wine, and eat. I cannot do so. Keep me company with the understanding that you will hear my sad story."

Hue went forward, found the pack, took out the ermine, put it on, and wore a mantle on top. He found plenty of *braies* and shirts, and he took what he needed. . . . The minstrel told his tale.

"Brother, I am an instrumentalist; among the pagans there is none like me. See my harp and my *viele* which I play well, and I know how to use the tambourine and dance."

His sadness was because his lord had been killed. He hired Hue to carry his pack and he remarked, "Whenever I perform in a burg or a city you will see me receive so many mantles that you will hardly be able to carry them."

"You have your man," said Hue. He picked up the pack, placed it on the nape of his neck, and on top he loaded the harp and the *viele*. They set out towards Monbranc.[14]

You will note the rewards which this old man gets. Strange to relate, he does not have a horse. Surely he could have had one from some admirer. Still later, when they are at the court of King Ivorin: "You should see the mantles unfastened. They were thrown to him from all sides, and Hue gathered them up."[15] Later still: "When they had all eaten, the tables were removed and the minstrel made his thirty-string harp resound. . . ."[16]

We return once more to those minstrels who narrated. An important point is to know how the narrators presented their wares. Did they sing them with a tune, or did they recite them with a monotone rhythmic chant? At the Mediaeval Academy meeting in 1965 Albert Baugh, of the University of Pennsylvania, read an excellent presidential address on the mediaeval romance in general. Incidentally he examined all the Middle English verbs which preface the beginnings of these romances. He concluded that usually there was mention that the poem was sung, but that in some instances the verb used means "said" not "sung." (I cannot speak for Middle English, but in Old French *dire* can mean "say, play, or sing"). In

the *Metalogicon* John of Salisbury has something pertinent to say about this, although he is not as clear as his direct source, Quintilian.[17] Quintilian remarked that the reciting of verse "must be different from the reading of prose, because poetry is sung and poets claim to be singers. But this fact does not justify degeneration into sing-song, the effeminate modulations now in vogue. There is an excellent saying on this attributed to Gaius Caesar while he was still a boy: 'If you are singing, you sing badly; if you are reading you sing.' " John of Salisbury imitated this passage as follows: "Poetry should be recited in one way, prose in another. . . . Caesar while he was still a boy with fine sarcasm remarked to a certain person, 'If you are trying to read you are singing, and if you are trying to sing you are doing a miserable job.' " We can infer from this statement by John that the mediaeval minstrels, who were usually concerned with verse, sang or chanted their wares. In presenting prose they employed an inflected monotone, a sing-song. The habit of chanting in some way all lines that were *read* aloud persisted till the seventeenth century, and probably much later.

I do not pretend to be a musicologist, but the musical forms used by the minstrels must be taken into account.[18] The basic patterns of mediaeval song and chant were derived from the Church litany, the rondel, the Church sequence, and the hymn. (We are accepting the thesis that secular music was based largely on Church music.) From the litany type came the melodies of the *chansons de geste* and the *rotrouanges* (which differ by having an end refrain)—also those *chansons* which had no refrain. The rondel form gave rise to the *ballade* and the *virelai.* Following the sequence type came the *lai,* used for narrative poetry, the *notula,* and the instrumental *estampie.* From the hymn were derived the *chanson* with refrain and the *vers.* These last two do not admit a strict metrical reading. You will recall that Renart, pretending to be the English jongleur, declared himself ready and willing to perform the *lai,* the *chanson,* and the *rotrouange.*

It is my intention now to play for you, on the tenor re-

corder, a few samples of some of these types. We begin with the *chanson de geste* melody from the mock epic *Audigier.* This is the only one we have of this kind—unless we accept as such the melody of the *Bataille d'Annezin.* Jean de Grocheo in his *Theoria* (*ca.* 1300) remarks on this type that "Idem cantus debet in omnibus versibus reiterari."[19]

I have not played you a *notula,* which was similar to a *lai*—both derived from the sequence. The author of the Old French *Durmart le Gallois* favored the *notula,* or *note* (as it is called in Old French). "They listen to a minstrel in the palace who performs *notulae* and *lais,* I do not know which." "One hears often in their palace *chans et notes* and *sons et lais.*" Evidently it was not easy to distinguish between the *notula* and the *lai.*[20]

The tunes themselves could be freshly composed, or they might be old ones, adopted from either Church or folk music. Lay people were quite fond of the major scales in C and F. This may seem strange to you. Where the minor modes were used, the laity liked particularly the Aeolian or ninth tone, and the *Protus* and the *Tetrardus*—first and seventh tones. Popular tunes could have a longer compass, often going to the octave and higher.

Eventually some of the singers became known as *rois des menestrels.* Adenet, for instance, was Adenet le Roi. An earlier occurrence of this was noted in 1174, when a minstrel won a contest and was crowned king of the competition,[21] in much the same way that we now have young ladies as Queens: the Tobacco Queen, the Peach Queen, the Cotton Queen, and so on. By the thirteenth century a *roi des menestrels* was the accepted leader of the performers at a court, or at a minstrel school. Minstrels and heralds were often equated loosely. A *roi des menestrels* might officiate as chief of the heralds.

These itinerant chanters and singers had places of assembly where they convened and exchanged ideas and repertory. We refer to these places as jongleur schools, although we are not quite sure how much instruction there was. Such schools may have taught pupils to read and write the vernacular language,

and in this event they may have been the arbiters of French phonemic spelling. A new poem which had recently been *anoncié* or *envoié avant* (the mediaeval equivalent of published) could be taught there to those who wished to learn it.

Some of you are aware of a book published in 1955 by Jean Rychner, of Neuchatel, Switzerland.[22] Briefly, his thesis is that in the case of the *chansons de geste* only the principal features of each narrative were taught and that the individual singers expanded the basic plot, each one in his own epic phraseology, or formulaic diction. Eventually, Rychner claims, a truly artistic version, which had been received enthusiastically by the public, would prevail and be written down. This may have been true in the early stages of some of the epics, but more and more scholars are now convinced that the prevailing versions of some of these are complicated, artistic, and contrived compositions in which attention was paid to rhetorical devices and, sometimes, to arithmetical proportions (following Pythagoras and Plato's *Timaeus*).[23] Certainly the Oxford *Roland* was very elaborately contrived.

In order to employ such artistic devices the composers of the *chansons de geste* and romances must have been clerks of a kind. Doubtless many of them, probably the majority, must have been "flunkees" who had not persevered in the schools—but who had received simple tonsure at an early age. Presumably they had received voice training in the ecclesiastical schools. Such status at this did not apply, of course, to the acrobats, tumblers, and animal trainers who made up so large a part of the Minstrels' Corporations. It need not apply, either, to those who were purely instrumentalists, although it is probable that many such players had served their apprenticeship in Church music. Recently I have read through the Paris *Taille,* or tax roll, for 1296, which is the earliest preserved.[24] Only laymen were subject to this particular tax: those who were neither noble nor clerical. I found a Richart the flute player living near the Porte Saint Denis. On the nearby Rue des Jugleeurs eleven names were listed, but none was designated as a minstrel. Two were called *Mestres,* and there was a Henri

who made *vieles*. I am aware of what Raoul Glaber and Richart d'Argence of Fécamp had to say about secular minstrels;[25] but I believe that the singers who were in lower ecclesiastical orders were very numerous. This Rue des Jugleeurs was quite close to a prime source for epic material—the library at Saint Denis. One had only to exit through the Porte Saint Denis; five miles beyond that was the Abbey. The monks had a fine library, and we have reason to believe it contained vernacular poems: epics and romances which could be consulted by an approved master minstrel. Adenet le Roi wrote that he read the plots of two of his epics there.[26] The composer of the *Moniage Guillaume* also remarked: "Would you like to hear a good song of worthy deeds? You will enjoy it. Every minstrel knows this. The tale is in a roll at Saint Denis, but it was forgotten for a long time. The fellow who put it again into rhyme was a good man."[27]

So far we have said very little about the actual procedure followed by a narrating minstrel as he took his place before a gathering audience. In a castle or manor house the preferred time was after the first or mid-day meal, presumably continuing through siesta and some time thereafter:

> After eating the minstrels *vielent* and sing. They tell romance and adventures, they play psaltries and *gigues*; the harpers harp. This sweetness is worth hearing. They make great joy until vespers. The count paid each one according to his labor, giving mantles, mules, palfreys, etc. . . .[28]

The minstrel in the market place, or at the street corner, may have had a slightly different procedure. He could begin with a short prelude on his instrument while the crowd gathered. Then, as Pierre le Chantre informs us, the performer would try for a tune that might please. "If a tale about Landri does not get quick response he breaks off immediately and sings about Narcissus, and if that does not suit he begins another."[29] At about mid-point in the narration of a fairly lengthy poem he would stop for the night. Here is the announcement of such a pause in the *Huon of Bordeaux*:

Gentlemen, you can see that it is near vesper [about 6 P.M.] and I am very tired. I beg of you to remain fond of Auberon and Hue the Strong, and of me, and come back tomorrow after dinner. I am quite pleased when I see the evening come, because I want to leave. Come back tomorrow after dinner, and I ask each one of you to have a *maille* [half denier] tied up in the tail of his shirt. These Poitevin *mailles* do not have much size. The man who made them was stingy, as are those who give them to a nice minstrel.[30]

Seldom do we find so frank a statement, but in many poems we can suspect there was a pause for the end of the day which was followed at the next sitting by a short résumé of what had preceded. Even in the celebrated *Roman de la Rose* this sort of thing occurs:

The god of love then charged me, just as you will hear, with his commands—word for word. This romance describes them well. Anyone who is in love should pay attention, for this romance will get better from now on [*que li romanz des ore amende*]. It will now be agreeable to hear, provided one knows how to narrate it. The end of this dream is very attractive and the subject matter is novel. If one will listen to the end I assure you he will learn the tricks of Love, provided he wishes to wait until I can expound the significance of the dream. The truth, which may not be clear, will presently be quite obvious when you hear from me the explanation—there is nothing false in this.[31]

These remarks come also exactly at the mid-point of the Guillaume de Lorris section. Was this a reassurance following a pause for the night, or did the narrator (or poet) know from experience that this was a point in the narrative where interest was apt to flag and he was afraid the listeners would steal away?

We have been rather vague so far in distinguishing between those who composed the narratives and those who merely sang them. Some of the minstrels, especially the clerks, were certainly poets, who communicated their wares to others as well who were only singers. Some of these authors were women, such as Marie de France; others were clerks too prom-

inent to serve as common entertainers; and others were laymen of high degree, such as the Conte d'Arras, who wrote *Ille et Galeron* and *Eracle.* The troubadours in the south of France, and the *trouvères* in the north belonged to this last category—although I feel that some of these also in their youth had had some clerical training. Many a lord made a little clerk out of his heir, only to recall him to knightly duties later on. Such was the case with Guilhem in the *Flamenca.*

The troubadour Guiraut de Borneil went to school in the winter (Was this a jongleur or a Latin school?) and travelled about with his singers during the summer.[32] Here also is a passage from the romance *Claris* which may indicate a differentiation: "Before them were the singers and also *li plus mestre trouveor* who sang to them of ancient deeds and informed them of the great fights which their ancestors made and how they won their lands."[33]

I believe that the master *trouvères* were jongleur school instructors. Remember, on the Rue des Jugleeurs at Paris there were two men called *mestres*: Mestre Henri le grant mestre and Mestre Alixandre le grant mestre.

The chanting of *chansons,* romances, *lais,* etc., was not confined entirely to professionals. Knowledge of music was considered a social asset. In Thomas's *Tristan* the poet says of Iseut: "The queen sings softly; she tunes her voice to the instrument [which she is playing]; her hands are fair; the melody is good."[34] Also, in the *Roman de la Rose* we find this: "If you have a voice that is good and clear, seek no excuse not to sing, if someone asks you. Good singing is very pleasing. It is proper also for a young man to know how to play the *viele,* and to play the flute and dance. One can go far with these."[35]

These refer only to casual performances. In Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain* a girl of sixteen is in a garden with her mother and father and she is reading [*lisoit,* chanting?] in a romance, "whose author I [Chrétien] do not know. The parents take great pleasure in seeing and hearing her."[36] Probably this was a more sustained performance. There is something odd

here. Sixteen was a little old for a girl to be staying with her mother and father. She should have been married.

Somewhat puzzling to me are certain older men, of the knight class, who are mentioned by the chronicler Lambert d'Ardres (*ca.* 1181):[37] "Arnoul de Guines was very fond of tourneys and of young people, as well as of playful servitors and jests [*familiaribus ludicris et jocis*]." One of these was Robert de Coutances (from the Norman coast) who told him about the Roman emperors, Charlemagne, Roland and Oliver, and King Arthur of Britain. Then there was Philippe de Montjardin (Aude, near Narbonne) who brought to the delectation of his ears the siege of Antioch, Jerusalem, the Arabs, Babylonians, and deeds done in the Holy Land. Gautier de l'Ecluse (a Fleming from Sluis) taught him diligently about the English, Gormont et Isembart, Tristant et Iseut, Merlin, Marcolfus, the deeds of the Ardennes, and the construction of the castle of Ardres. You will note that the repertoire of each narrator corresponds somewhat with his native district. One evening when the weather was very bad the Count's followers were obliged to remain indoors. Philippe de Montjardin entertained them. Then Gautier de l'Ecluse remained in the center and told of the history of the Ardennes as he ran the fingers of his right hand through his beard. Were these older men narrating in prose, or did they recite material in verse? They were no strolling minstrels. Since Gautier de l'Ecluse was stroking his beard he was not playing an instrument.

There were certain specialized types of minstrels. There is the narrator who sings the saints' lives, often in churches. This was the first type of minstrel to be accepted as decent by the churchmen and, probably, he was at the base of all Old French literature. Here is a celebrated passage which concerns this kind of jongleur:

> A certain man named Peter Waldo, grown rich on taxes, approached a crowd one Sunday which had gathered before a minstrel. He was touched by the singer's words and brought the man to his home, desiring to listen more intently. The sub-

ject of the minstrel's narrative was how the Blessed Alexius had died a holy death in the house of his own father.[38]

This was the *Life of Saint Alexius* (*ca.* 1040), which most of us refer to as the oldest Old French Poem. Saint Aybert also was headed towards a religious life by a minstrel who sang in his father's house.[39]

Another specialized type was the renegade clerk who is commonly referred to as a Goliard. These wandering scholars sang scurrilous words in Latin to the melodies of the Agnus Dei and the Sanctus. These were certainly clerks who had got beyond the elementary stage of education—the category which we have postulated for most of the jongleurs who sang in the vernacular. These Latin singers must have performed in a bishop's hall, and perhaps in the cloisters. Helen Waddell has built an everlasting monument to them on this earth with her *The Wandering Scholars* (1926). The *Codex Buranus,* copied probably for some wealthy German ecclesiast in the first third of the thirteenth century, has a half of its 119 leaves filled with these Latin love songs, some of which were certainly "sung for bread." Miss Waddell has said:

> The jongleur's profession was the most degrading a clerk could have had; but it was also the most natural. It was a clerk's business to sing. . . . A certain singing master touting for pupils declared singing to be the foundation of all ecclesiastical functions.[40]

Earlier in this lecture we said we would consider the minstrel as a circus performer. A most extravagant exhibition of this kind was noted by Albert des Trois Fontaines for 1237:

> Those who are called minstrels did many things there in a vain spectacle. There was one who rode on a horse across a rope in the air, and there were others who, clothed in scarlet, rode two oxen, blowing horns at each course which was brought to the king.[41]

This exhibition was at the wedding on June 14, 1237, of Mathilde of Brabant with Robert, the brother of Louis IX.

Joinville described the performance of three tumblers. They put a cloth on the ground before their feet and, from

the standing position, they made a somersault so that their feet came again to a standing position on the cloth. Two of them also backflipped, including the oldest one. When he thrust his head backwards he made a sign of the cross, for he was afraid that he might break his neck.[42]

Stephen of Bourbon spoke of painted clowns "like those jongleurs who have their faces painted, which are called *artifices* in French, with which they tease and delude men."[43]

Astounding repertoire is listed in the romance *Joufrois*:

> You would see the jongleurs come forward and do many tricks. One danced a spur dance, and they watched his feet carefully to see whether he would stumble; another jumped through a hoop held high; still another did sleight of hand under his mantle; another threw knives while others had swords, leaning and falling on the sharp points without fear. There was much fine play in the presence of the Count, including the singing of ancient songs.[44]

Elsewhere, in a German source, we find men dancing with dogs, and eating fire which they blow from their mouths.[45] The poet Rutebeuf remarked towards the end of the thirteenth century that "it is common everywhere, as all men know, that when someone puts on a wedding or a feast the minstrels hear of it and seek nothing better. They come from everywhere, some on foot and others on horseback."[46]

We can sum up a full repertoire on such occasions by quoting from Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*:

> When the Court was assembled there was not a minstrel in the countryside who knew any form of entertainment who did not come there. There was much joy in the great hall. Each one performed as well as he could. Some leaped, some danced, some did magic tricks, some narrated, others sang, some whistled, some played upon instruments, one upon the *gigue*, another on a *viele*, another on a harp, still another on a *rote*. One played the flute, another a shawm. They had tambourines, drums, bag-pipes, whistles, and horns. . . . The Minstrels were all happy that day because they were paid without stint. They got what they earned and many gifts in addition: robes of miniver, ermine, rabbit, violet cloth, and scarlet.[47]

As we observed earlier, it was not unusual for wealthy people to recompense the minstrels with fine garments. Rigord comments on this:

> Once we saw certain great men give lightly [*ad primam vocem*] garments which had been designed with great care over a considerable period of time, which were ornamented skilfully in flower designs, which probably cost as much as twenty or thirty marks of silver hardly a week before. They gave them to minstrels, ministers of the devil. . . . But the most Christian king Philip Augustus, seeing that all this was vain and contrary to the salvation of the soul, remembering what he had learned from pious men, and when he had learned it, said that to give to performers was to sacrifice to demons. He promised that he would give all his garments to the poor.[48]

This must have been temporary prudery on the part of King Philip. Elsewhere we have read of his using minstrels for propaganda purposes.

Two weeks ago Professor Gustave Reese prefaced his fine lecture on the music of the *intarsia* with the statement that his talk was the intermezzo of the Institute's lecture program, because it came at the mid-point. This lecture of mine, as you know, is the last. "C'est la fin, koi que nus die, c'est la fin" in the words of a twelfth-century *virelai*. Perhaps some of the most assiduous listeners of this series could not make it here this afternoon. As the last actor on this stage, who performs the Epilogue, I will say for us all:

> We have amused ourselves mightily
> And now is the hour for farewell.

Notes

1. A most valuable reference for this subject matter is Edmond Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1910). We have used this very sparingly in a desire to keep our own approach as fresh as possible.

2. Giraldus Cambrensis, ed. J. S. Brewer (Rolls Series, London, 1891), IV, 41.

3. This is in Alexander's *De nominibus utensilium, Jahrbuch Rom. Engl. Lit.,* VIII (1967), 60-74, 155-73.

4. Faral, *op. cit.,* p. 292, cites this passage from B. N. fr. 12548. He comments elsewhere (pp. 64-65) on such incongruity in clothing.

5. A good and brief description of musical instruments is in Alwin Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger* (Leipzig, 1889), I, 552 ff.

6. Curt Sachs's *Real-Lexicon der Musikinstrumente* (1913) and his *Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde* (1920).

7. Edited by E. Martin (Strassburg, 1882), Branch I, vv. 2323 ff.

8. *Ibid.,* v. 2756. Note that the jongleur school at Besançon must have been something to provoke mirth. At this time, to be sure, Besançon was controlled by the German Emperor.

9. Edited by K. Hofmann (Erlangen, 1882), vv. 2325-26.

10. Edited by W. Cloetta (SATF, 1906-13, 2 vols.), vv. 1253 ff.

11. *Polycraticus,* I, ch. 8.

12. Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum,* ed. Thomas Wright (Rolls Series, London, 1863), 312.

13. Except for a few sections the *Garin de Monglane* has not been published. We are quoting from a transcription made for us by Miss Evelyn Vandiver.

14. Edited by M. F. Guessard (Paris, 1960), p. 213.

15. *Ibid.,* p. 219.

16. *Ibid.,* p. 233.

17. *The Metalogicon,* tr. Daniel D. McGarry (Univ. of California, 1955), 60-61. Peter of Blois observes how listeners could be moved to tears by a minstrel reciting about Arthur, or Tristan (Migne, P. L., CCVII, col. 1088). For me, this presupposes a singing or chanting presentation.

18. A fine reference on this is Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940); also T. Gérold, *La musique du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1933).

19. Edited by Johannes Wolf, in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft.*

20. *Durmart le Gallois,* ed. E. Stengel (Tübingen, 1873), vv. 732 ff., 6153-54, 6225.

21. J. Bédier, *op. cit.,* pp. 268-69.

22. For nearly a decade after its publication this theory was held as definitive. Gradually it has been modified in the minds of many scholars, as we have indicated.

23. Bibliography on the *Chanson de Roland* is immense. An elaborate analysis of the possible arithmetical arrangement of the sections of this epic will be published shortly by Robert Lucas.

24. Edited by Karl Michaëlsson (Göteborg, 1958), 88.

25. See Ch. de Beaurepaire in *B. Ec. Chartres,* XX, 153; also Raoul Glaber, *Historiae* (Rec. HF, X, 42), IV, 9.

26. Edited by A. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1874), vv. 5-15.

27. Edited by W. Cloetta, v. 4.

28. *Les enfances Godefroi,* ed. C. Hippeau, vv. 109, 230-36; also *Gilles de Chin,* ed. E. B. Place, vv. 4689 ff.

29. Migne, P. L., CCV, col. 155.

30. *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

31. *Roman de la Rose,* ed. E. Langlois (Paris, SATF, 1914-24, 5 vols.), vv. 2057 ff.

32. Jean Boutière et A.-H. Schutz, *Biographies des Troubadours* (Toulouse, Paris, 1950), 191.

33. *Claris et Laris,* ed. J. Alton (Tübingen, 1884), vv. 29, 614 ff.

34. Edited by Bartina H. Wind (Genève: Droz, 1960), 65.

35. *Op. cit.*, 2203-10.

36. Edited by Mario Roques (Paris, 1964), vv. 5356-73.

37. MGH, SS., XXIV, 607. We are told by Lambert that Count Baudouin II had a good library of vernacular material and that he was the equal of the best jongleurs. Could he have been the patron of a jongleur school? Another fighting knight who was a capable minstrel is mentioned in the *Chanson de Willalme,* vv. 1261 ff.

38. MGH, SS., XXVI, 447.

39. Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1886, 2nd ed.), 445.

40. I am using the reprint paperback in the Doubleday Anchor Books (1955). There this passage is in note 53, p. 195.

41. MGH, SS., XXIII.

42. *La vie de Saint-Louis,* ed. N. de Wailly (SHF), 526.

43. Edited by Lecoy de la Marche (SHF, 1872), 279.

44. *Joufrois,* ed. E. O. Streng-Renkonen (Turku, 1930), vv. 1146 ff.

45. *Karlmeinet,* 287, 11.

46. *Charlot le Juif,* ed. in Montaiglon et Raynaud, III, 223 ff.

47. Edited by Mario Roques (Paris, 1953), vv. 2035 ff.; 2106 ff. For a similar gathering, see Wace's *Brut,* ed. Ivor Arnold (SATF, 1938-40, 2 vols.), vv. 10823 ff.

48. *De gestis Philippi Augusti* (Recueil de l'Histoire de France), XVII, 21.

Appendix

Statement of Objectives

The Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies is established for the advancement of scholarship and the improvement of teaching, primarily in the southeastern region. Through the Institute the resources of Duke University and the University of North Carolina—particularly staff and library holdings—are made available to scholars and teachers throughout the region. Participation is invited from students of all areas of medieval and renaissance studies, including (among others) art, aesthetics, history, literature, music, philosophy, and religion.

The Institute consists of several informal seminars (nine in 1966), each one concerned with a topic of special interest to students of the medieval and renaissance periods. Each seminar is led by a Senior Fellow and has an enrollment of not more than six participants, designated Fellows. Auditing of the seminars is strictly limited and is dependent upon the consent of the Senior Fellow and the Executive Committee of the Institute. A standard fellowship of $500.00 is awarded each Fellow and is normally increased by a matching or smaller research award from his own institution. The typical seminar meets twice a week for one or two hours, but schedules are flexible to permit arrangements adapted to the needs of the seminar. Each Fellow participates in one seminar only and thus has ample free time to devote to his own research. In addition to the seminars, the Institute sponsors a public lecture by each of the Senior Fellows, as well as by occasional distinguished visiting scholars, and holds a daily coffee hour for those Institute members who wish to attend.

The sessions of the Institute alternate annually between the campuses of Duke University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The second session, from July 20 to August 24, 1966, was held on the campus of Duke University.

Seminars of the Second Session, July 20–August 24, 1966

1. THE CRITICAL EDITING OF TUDOR AND STUART DRAMATIC TEXTS

Senior Fellow: Dr. Arthur Brown, Professor of English, University College London. Commonwealth Fund Fellow (mainly Folger Shakespeare Library), 1953-54; Foyle Research Fellow, Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1958-59; General Editor for the Malone Society. Editor of several volumes for the Malone Society.

Scope: Literary, dramatic, bibliographical, editorial.

Description: The seminar was concerned with all aspects of the transmission of Tudor and Stuart dramatic texts from their own time to the present day, and with the editorial principles to be applied to them. Both manuscripts and early printed texts were considered. Attention was inevitably focused on a small selection of dramatists, but members of the seminar were encouraged to discuss other authors or texts upon which they might be working.

2. THE TRANSITION FROM RENAISSANCE TO BAROQUE

Senior Fellow: Dr. Werner P. Friederich, Kenan Professor and Chairman, Comparative Literature, University of North Carolina. Visiting Professor, Bern (1938), Zürich (1960), Melbourne (Fulbright 1955 and 1964); Summer Visiting Professor, Hawaii (1959), University of California, Berkeley (1962), Colorado (1963). President of the International (1958-61) and the American (1959-62) Comparative Literature Associations. Editor, *University of North Carolina Studies in Comparative Literature* (1950-) and *Yearbook of Comparative Literature* (1952-59); Co-Editor, *Comparative Literature* (1949-). Author, *Dante's Fame Abroad, 1350-1850* (1950), *Bibliography of Comparative Literature* (with F. Baldensperger, 1950), *Outline of Comparative Literature* (1954), etc.

Scope: Interdisciplinary; comparative literature and history.

Description: Study of the various pressures at work (religious, political, literary, social) between the Fall of Florence and the Thirty Years' War transforming the epic, the lyric, and the dramatic literature of Europe. Members of the seminar were expected to have a competent reading knowledge of at least two foreign languages.

3. MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE POETICS

Senior Fellow: Dr. Allan H. Gilbert, Visiting Professor of Literature, Drew University (1963-); Emeritus Professor of English Literature, Duke University. Arensberg Professor, University of

Southern California (1958); Berg Professor, English and Italian Literature, New York University, 1961. Visiting Professor of English, Oregon (1958-59), Wayne State (1960), Columbia (1962-63), University of the City of New York (1962-63). Visiting Professor of Italian Literature, Pennsylvania (1959-60), of Comparative Literature, Rutgers (1961-62). Lecturer, University of Florence (1948); Honored Scholar, American Milton Society (1952); Fulbright Research Fellow, Italy (1955-56); Vice-President, Modern Language Association (1955-56); President, Southeastern Renaissance Conference (1956). Author, *Geographical Dictionary of Milton* (1919), *Dante's Conception of Justice* (1925, 1965), *Machiavelli's* Prince *and Its Forerunners* (1938), ed., *Literary Criticism, Plato to Dryden* (1940, 1962), *On the Composition of* Paradise Lost (1947), *The Theory and Practice of Criticism* (1959), *Dante and His* Comedy (1963), etc. Translator and editor of Ariosto, Machiavelli, Dante.

Scope: Italian and English poetry and criticism; Classical criticism.

Description: The seminar considered the history of criticism with the purpose of discovering principles for interpreting medieval and renaissance poetry. Among authors considered were Dante, Chaucer, Ariosto, Tasso, Spenser, Milton, and such others as were of concern to the individual members of the seminar.

4. MEDIEVAL EPIC AND ROMANCE

Senior Fellow: Dr. Urban Tigner Holmes, Kenan Professor of Romance Philology, University of North Carolina. Second Vice-President, Mediaeval Academy of America (1964-67). Fellow, Mediaeval Academy; American Numismatic Society. Distinguished Visiting Professor, Michigan State University (autumn, 1959); Fulbright Lecturer, University of Melbourne (1960); American Secretary of Anglo-Norman Text Society; Patron of Société Rencesvals. Author, *A History of Old French Literature* (1937, '38, '48, '62); *Daily Living in the Twelfth Century* (1952, '53, '62, '64), *A New Interpretation of Chrétien's* Conte del Graal (1948). Co-author, *Chrétien, Troyes, and the Grail* (1959). Co-editor, *The Life and Works of Guillaume du Bartas,* 3 vols. (1935, 1938, 1940).

Scope: Medieval French, Spanish, and Italian history and literature, with some reference to English materials.

Description: The seminar was guided by the nature of the research problems presented by the participants. There were discussions of the origins of the medieval epic and romance forms, sources and interrelationship, importance of the rhymed chronicles, Arthurian

studies. On highly controversial issues every effort was made to maintain a moderate viewpoint.

5. STUDIES IN RENAISSANCE MUSIC

Senior Fellow: Dr. Gustave Reese, Professor of Music, New York University. Associate editor (1933-44) and editor (1944-45) of *Musical Quarterly*; co-founder (1935) of American Musicological Society (Secretary, 1935-46; Vice-President, 1946-50; President, 1950-52); one of the organizers of the Renaissance Society of America (1954); head, publication department, G. Schirmer, Inc. (1940-45); director of publication, Carl Fischer, Inc. (1944-55). Mus. Doc., *honoris causa,* Chicago Musical College (1947); Visiting Lecturer, University of Southern California (1953), Michigan (1951, 1952), Harvard (1958). Author of *Music in the Middle Ages* (1940), *Music in the Renaissance* (1954; rev. ed., 1959), *Fourscore Classics of Music Literature* (1957), etc.

Scope: Musicological, primarily; also literary and sociological.

Description: The seminar considered the relations between music and poetry; social backgrounds; distinctions between types loosely grouped with the madrigal; Italian influence on musical forms in other countries; problems in the editing of early musical texts.

6. THE GREEK WORLD IN THE MID-FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Senior Fellow: Hon. Sir Steven Runciman, Fellow of the British Academy, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Honorary Fellow, Trinity College, Cambridge. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1927-38; University Lecturer, Cambridge, 1932-38. Professor of Byzantine History and Art, University of Istanbul, 1942-45. Wayn-flete Lecturer, Magdalen College, Oxford, 1953-54; Gifford Lecturer, University of St. Andrews, 1960-62; Alexander White Professor, University of Chicago, 1963. Corresponding Member, Real Academia de Historia, Madrid; Foreign Member, American Philosophical Society. Author, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus* (1929), *The First Bulgarian Empire* (1930), *The Medieval Manichee* (1947), *A History of the Crusades,* 3 vols. (1951-54), *The Sicilian Vespers* (1958), *The Fall of Constantinople* (1965).

Scope: Interdisciplinary; history, religion, philosophy.

Description: The seminar considered the political and moral state of the Greek world on the eve of the Ottoman Conquest, giving particular attention to the political and theological actions and opinions arising out of the Turkish advance and the attempted union of the Greek and Latin Churches at the Council of Florence.

A knowledge of Greek was suggested as useful and a knowledge of Latin required as essential for the study of the primary sources.

7. THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Senior Fellow: Dr. R. W. Southern, Chichele Professor of Modern History, Oxford. Fellow of Balliol (1937-61), of All Souls (1961-); Fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America; Fellow of the British Academy; Honorary D. Litt., Glasgow. Author, *Making of the Middle Ages* (1953, 1959), *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (1962), *St. Anselm and His Biographer* (1963); editor, Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* (1962), etc.

Scope: Interdisciplinary; especially history and religion.

Description: The changing features of ecclesiastical organization and religious expression related to the changes in medieval society. The main emphasis was on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the contrasts with the earlier and later centuries were examined in some detail.

8. ERASMIAN HUMANISM IN ENGLAND

Senior Fellow: Dr. Craig R. Thompson, Professor of English and History and Librarian, Haverford College. Guggenheim Fellow (1942-43, 1954-55); recipient of A.C.L.S. grant (1953); Folger Library Fellow (summers, 1953, 1956, 1957, 1959, 1963); Special Consultant, Folger Library (1957-58). President, American Society for Reformation Research (1965). Editor and translator, *The* Inquisitio de Fide *of Erasmus* (1950); *Ten Colloquies of Erasmus* (1957); *The Colloquies of Erasmus* (1965). Co-editor, *Thought and Experience in Prose* (1951, 1956). Author, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, The Bible in English 1525-1611, Schools in Tudor England, Universities in Tudor England* (Folger Library Booklets, 1958-59); etc.

Scope: Interdisciplinary; especially history, religion, English literature.

Description: The seminar studied the nature, importance, and extent of the type of thought commonly known in intellectual history as Erasmian humanism. After reviewing the principal writings of Erasmus, considered as a Renaissance exemplar of classical learning and Christian piety, members of the seminar investigated various aspects of humanism in English literature, religion, philosophy, and education of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Members were encouraged to pursue their own research topics and to present occasional reports to the seminar.

9. SPANISH DRAMA OF THE GOLDEN AGE

Senior Fellow: Dr. Bruce W. Wardropper, William Hanes Wannamaker Professor of Romance Languages, Duke University. Guggenheim Fellow (1952, 1959); recipient of American Philosophical Society award (1957); A.C.L.S. grant (1959). General Editor, *Modern Language Notes* (1960-62); member of Editorial Board, *PMLA* (1962-). Author, *Introducción al teatro religioso del Siglo de Oro* (1953); *Historia de la poesía lírica a lo divino en la cristiandad occidental* (1958), etc. Editor, *Cancionero espiritual (Valladolid, 1549)* (1954); *Critical Essays on Calderón* (1965).

Scope: Spanish medieval, renaissance, and baroque literature; poetic theory; literary criticism.

Description: The seminar concentrated on problems related to the genesis of the Spanish national theater, secular and religious; the consequences of the retarded development of the medieval liturgical drama, and the significance of its being rooted in the *Officium Pastorum*; and the hitherto ill-defined nature of Lope de Vega's peculiar contribution to the tradition he inherited. Participants were free to work on problems of their own choosing, either in literary history or in criticism.

Fellows of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1966

SEMINAR NO. 1: David Moore Bergeron (University of Louisville)
Frederick M. Burelbach, Jr. (Vanderbilt University)
Gerald Joseph Eberle (Loyola University of New Orleans)
Sylvia Dollie Feldman (Emory University)
John Henderson Long (Greensboro College)
Joe Andrews Sutfin (Austin Peay State College)

SEMINAR NO. 2: Julia Y. Lee (Virginia Union University)
Terence Logan (University of Maryland)
John Aiken Moore (William and Mary College)
Charles Eugene Mounts (High Point College)
James H. Sims (Austin Peay State College)
Patrick O'Dyer Spurgeon (Coker College)

SEMINAR NO. 3: Reta Margaret Anderson (Emory University)
William Franklin Boggess (University of Georgia)
Doyle Richard Fosso (Wake Forest University)

Henry Lawrence Snuggs (Wake Forest University)
Oliver Lee Steele, Jr. (University of Virginia)
Vernon J. Torczon (Louisiana State University in New Orleans)

SEMINAR No. 4: James Franklin Burke (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)
Robert G. Cook (Tulane University)
Jacqueline C. Freeman (Trinity College)
Patricia May Gathercole (Roanoke College)
Wilfred L. Guerin (Centenary College of Louisiana)
Philip H. Kennedy (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), auditor
James Irving Wimsatt (Texas Christian University)
Kurt Wittlin (Union College)

SEMINAR No. 5: Melvin Bernstein (University of Maryland)
Robert Edward Gerken (Georgia Southern College)
Frederick Bill Hyde (University of Alabama)
Sister Michaela Keane (Academy of the Holy Names)
Lilian Pruett (North Carolina College)
Paul Gene Strassler (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

SEMINAR No. 6: Elizabeth Boggess (Bryn Mawr College)
Hugh Lawrence Bond (North Carolina Wesleyan College)
Anthony Cutler (Emory University)
Norman Frank Gienapp (St. Paul's College)
William A. Percy, Jr. (Louisiana State University)

SEMINAR No. 7: Gene L. Adrean (University of Richmond)
James Pierce Barefield (Wake Forest University)
Emmett Randolph Daniel (University of Virginia)
Joseph Polzer (University of Louisville)
Gerald Harris Shinn (Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary)
Pardon Elisha Tillinghast (Middlebury College)

SEMINAR No. 8: Jean Ruth Buchert (University of North Carolina at Greensboro)

Richard Curry Marius (University of Tennessee)
Jerome O'Malley (Loyola College of Baltimore)
David G. Schmiel (St. Paul's College)
Louis Anthony Schuster (St. Mary's University)
Douglas J. Stewart (Emory University)

SEMINAR No. 9: Michael Cameron Andrews (Duke University)
Linton Lomas Barrett (Washington and Lee University)
Frank Gedney Halstead (University of Mississippi)
Amy Sparks (Greensboro College)
Shirley Blue Whitaker (University of North Carolina at Greensboro)